

# PLUTARCH's LIVES,

Abridged from the

ORIGINAL GREEK,

Illustrated with

NOTES and REFLECTIONS,

And embellished with

COPPER-PLATE PRINTS.

VOLUME the FIFTH.

Containing the LIVES of

M. CRASSUS,  
Q. SERTORIUS,  
EUMENES,  
AGESILAUS,

|| POMPEY,  
|| ALEXANDER,  
|| AND  
|| JULIUS CÆSAR.

---

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, at the Bible and  
Sun, in St. Paul's Church-yard.

MDCC LXII.



C

T

H

A

C

C

C

H

H

H

H

T





## CONTENTS.

THE LIFE of M. CRASSUS	pag. 1
His general character	<i>ib.</i>
He escapes the cruelty of <i>Marius</i> , by flying into <i>Spain</i> , where he lives in a cave	5
A concise history of the war of <i>Spartacus</i> , ended by <i>Crassus</i>	8
<i>Crassus</i> and <i>Pompey</i> are made consuls	14
<i>Crassus</i> , <i>Pompey</i> and <i>Cæsar</i> , by uniting their interests, become irresistible	16
<i>Crassus</i> , obtaining the province of <i>Syria</i> , sets out on his expedition against the <i>Parthians</i>	18
He is deceived by the pretended friendship of <i>Ariamnes</i>	23
He comes up with the <i>Parthians</i> , and is defeated in a bloody battle, in which he loses his son, and the greatest part of his army	26
He leaves the wounded by night, and escapes with a few of his troops to <i>Zeu-gma</i>	32
He is followed by the <i>Parthians</i> , and being at last persuaded to go with them in order to conclude an alliance, is slain	33
The lives of <i>Crassus</i> and <i>Nicias</i> compared	39
A 2	The

# CONTENTS.

## The LIFE of Q. SERTORIUS p. 42

He distinguishes himself by his bravery  
against the *Cimbri*, *Spaniards* and *Gyri-*  
*senians* 43

He joins with *Marius*, and after his death  
takes possession of *Spain*, and after vari-  
ous adventures becomes general of the  
*Lusitanians* 45

He keeps a white fawn, which he pretend-  
ed to receive from *Diana*, and obtains  
victories over several *Roman* generals 50

He gives his army a lesson, on patience and  
perseverance 54

The manner in which he conquered the  
*Charicitani* 55

He still continues to brave all the powers  
of *Rome*, till *Perpenna*, forming a con-  
spiracy against him, he is slain 56

## The LIFE of EUMENES 62

His boldness and sincerity bring him into  
disgrace with *Alexander* 64

After that prince's death, he is made go-  
vernor of *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and  
the coast of the *Pontic* sea 65

He joins *Perdiccas*, by whose assistance he  
gains several victories, in one of which  
he kills *Neoptolemus* 66

He is defeated by *Antigonus*, and after va-  
rious turns of fortune, is delivered up to  
that general, by a part of his own troops 71

He is starved to death 80

## The LIFE of AGESILAUS 81

His general character *ib.*

Being

# CONTENTS.

Being made king of <i>Sparta</i> , he makes war on the <i>Persians</i> , and takes many cities in <i>Phrygia</i>	p. 83
He defeats <i>Tisaphernes</i> , seizes the camp and treasure of <i>Pharnabazus</i> , and has a conference with him	86
He returns home to assist his country, which was involved in a war with the <i>Greeks</i>	89
He has a bloody engagement with the <i>Thebans</i>	90
His simplicity of manners, and wisdom	92
<i>Sphodrias</i> , without orders, attempts to surprise the <i>Peræus</i> of <i>Athens</i> , but his son interceding for him, he is acquitted	95
<i>Agefilaus's</i> fondness for his children	96
The <i>Spartans</i> are defeated, both by sea and land	98
The territories of <i>Sparta</i> invaded by <i>Epaminondas</i>	100
<i>Agefilaus</i> gives up the government to his son, who obtains a victory over the <i>Arcadians</i>	101
<i>Epaminondas</i> attempts to surprize <i>Sparta</i> , but is repulsed	102
<i>Agefilaus</i> joins <i>Tachos</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , in order to assist him against the <i>Persians</i> , but shamefully deserts him, and goes over to <i>Nectanabis</i> his enemy	103
His death	105
The LIFE of POMPEY	106
His general character	ib.
He defeats a conspiracy formed to murder him, and burn his camp	107
A 3	He

p. 42  
every  
Gyri-  
43  
death  
vari-  
f the  
45  
tend-  
stains  
ls 50  
e and  
54  
d the  
55  
owers  
con-  
56  
62  
a into  
64  
de go-  
a, and  
65  
nce he  
which  
66  
ter va-  
d up to  
oops 71  
80  
81  
ib.  
Being

# CONTENTS.

He obtains several victories, and joins <i>Sylla</i>	
He takes <i>Sicily</i>	p. 109
He defeats <i>Domitius</i> in <i>Africa</i> , takes king <i>Hiarbas</i> prisoner, and overthrows the <i>Numidians</i>	110
His success raises the jealousy of <i>Sylla</i> , who in vain opposes his obtaining a triumph	112
<i>Lepidus</i> marches against <i>Rome</i> ; but <i>Pompey</i> ends the war without a battle	113
He carries on a war in <i>Spain</i> with various success against <i>Sertorius</i>	114
He makes war on the <i>Cicilian</i> pirates, and clears the sea of those robbers	115
He is appointed to succeed <i>Lucullus</i> in carrying on the war against <i>Mithridates</i> and <i>Tigranes</i>	119
He defeats <i>Mithridates</i>	121
<i>Tigranes</i> surrenders his crown to him	123
He defeats the <i>Albanians</i> , <i>Iberians</i> , and <i>Parthians</i>	125
He invades <i>Syria</i> , and takes <i>Aristobulus</i> king of the <i>Jews</i> prisoner	ib.
His behaviour at the city of <i>Mytelene</i> , <i>Rhodes</i> , and <i>Athens</i>	127
He returns to <i>Rome</i> , where he is opposed by <i>Cato</i> , and obtains a splendid triumph	129
<i>Pompey</i> fills the city with soldiers, and carries every thing by violence	ib.
<i>Cæsar</i> grows powerful	132
<i>Cæsar</i> having taken <i>Arminium</i> , <i>Pompey</i> leaves the city, and <i>Cæsar</i> becomes master of all <i>Italy</i> without bloodshed	134
	139
	The

The  
Pomp  
to  
is  
Age  
The I  
His  
He  
G  
fr  
He  
The  
He  
a  
He  
l  
Ale  
h  
n  
He  
He  
i  
He  
He  
He  
h  
e  
Da  
Pa  
Ale  
Hi

# C O N T E N T S.

The battle of <i>Pharsalia</i>	p. 142
<i>Pompey</i> flies, sails to <i>Mytelene</i> , from thence to <i>Atalia</i> , and at last to <i>Egypt</i> , where he is murdered	144
<i>Agessilaus</i> and <i>Pompey</i> compared	149

The LIFE of ALEXANDER	151
His birth and education	ib.
He ascends the throne, and reduces the <i>Grecians</i> , who endeavour to recover their freedom	155
He prepares for his expedition into <i>Persia</i>	158
The battle of the <i>Granicus</i>	159
He conquers the <i>Pisidians</i> and <i>Phrygians</i> , and cuts the <i>Gordian</i> knot	160
He is cured of a dangerous illness by <i>Philip</i> his physician and friend	ib.
<i>Alexander</i> again defeats <i>Darius</i> , and takes his mother, wife, and daughter prisoners	161
He builds the city of <i>Alexandria</i>	166
He goes to the temple of <i>Jupiter Ammon</i> , in order to be proclaimed a god	ib.
He again defeats <i>Darius</i>	168
He burns the palace of <i>Persopolis</i>	171
He refuses to drink the water presented to him, because his army was almost choaked with thirst	173
<i>Darius</i> found mortally wounded	174
<i>Parmenio</i> and his son <i>Philotas</i> put to death	175
<i>Alexander</i> kills <i>Clitus</i> with his own hand	177
His expedition into <i>India</i>	179
His	His

# CONTENTS.

His behaviour to <i>Ancuphis</i> and <i>Taxiles</i>	p. 180
He defeats king <i>Porus</i>	181
He enters the city of the <i>Malians</i> alone, where he narrowly escapes being slain	182
After visiting the ocean, he returns feast- ing great part of the way	183
Drinking to excess, he throws himself into a fever, of which he dies	185
The LIFE of JULIUS CÆSAR 188	
He flies from <i>Sylla</i> , is taken by pirates, and being ransomed, returns to <i>Rome</i>	<i>ib.</i>
He attempts to revive <i>Marius's</i> party	190
He weeps on comparing his actions with those of <i>Alexander</i>	192
He gains a victory, and subdues some na- tions in <i>Spain</i>	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Cæsar</i> having the government of <i>Gaul</i> , ob- tains many victories there, in <i>Germany</i> and <i>Britain</i>	193
<i>Pompey</i> begins to oppose him	199
<i>Cæsar</i> takes <i>Arminium</i> , and <i>Pompey</i> flies from <i>Rome</i>	200
The battle of <i>Pharsalia</i>	207
<i>Cæsar's</i> other exploits in <i>Egypt</i> and <i>Africa</i>	209
His last victory, in which <i>Pompey's</i> sons are slain	212
He is made perpetual dictator	<i>ib.</i>
His ambition, and death	213

T H E



M A



Romans  
too far  
virgins  
lady's  
*Crassus*  
the val  
with g  
he had  
was tri  
The Ro  
vices v  
rice.

Vol



180  
181  
one,  
182  
east-  
183  
into  
185

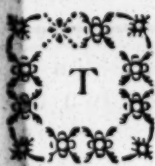
188  
, and  
ib.  
190  
with  
192  
e na-  
ib.  
l, ob-  
rmany

193  
199  
s from  
200  
207  
Africa  
209.  
ons are  
212  
ib.  
213

T H E



T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
M A R C U S C R A S S U S .

 H E father of *Marcus Crassus* had enjoyed the office of censor; and obtained the honour of a triumph. The son was as temperate with regard to women as any of the *Romans*, and yet was suspected of having been too familiar with *Licinia* one of the vestal virgins; a suspicion which arose from that lady's having a pleasant country seat, and *Crassus's* being desirous to purchase it below the value, on which account he visited her with great assiduity, and never left her till he had prevailed on her to part with it. He was tried for this offence, but acquitted. The *Romans* say, that his virtues and his other vices were all obscured by his excessive avarice. When he first entered into public life,

V O L . V .                      B                      his

his whole fortune did not exceed 300 talents\*, yet he amassed such wealth, that after he had consecrated a tenth of all he possessed to *Hercules*, given the whole *Roman* people a feast, and distributed corn for three months to all the citizens, being desirous to make an estimate of his fortune before he set out upon his *Parthian* expedition, he found himself possessed of 7100 talents†; an immense sum, which he acquired by his extreme avidity and habitual oeconomy. When *Sylla* seized the city of *Rome*, and exposed to sale the goods of those he had caused to be slain, *Craffus* fattened on the public miseries, and never refused to accept, or give money for the effects of the proscribed. He made the art of enriching himself his study, and observing that the houses of *Rome* were liable to be frequently destroyed by fire, he purchased above 500 slaves, who were architects and masons; and when an house was either burnt down or fell in ruins, he bought it cheap, with others adjoining that were damaged, and then made his slaves rebuild them; and thus by degrees became proprietor of the greatest part of the houses in *Rome*. Yet it is said that he never built any thing for himself but his own house‡; and that he used to say, that those

\* That is 300,000 crowns.

† About 1,065,000 l. sterling.

‡ It is probable that he let out the ground on which the houses stood on a building lease, and contracted that his slaves should be employed in rebuilding them.

who

who  
selve  
Besid  
land  
confi  
tude  
ers,  
have  
over  
servi  
neral  
more  
the l  
used  
othe  
by h  
not r  
army  
very  
ing  
teen  
stand  
prov  
" th  
" th  
" ta  
N  
is al  
to st

\*  
made  
taug  
wise  
richi



## MARCUS CRASSUS. 3

who were fond of building ruined themselves, and spared their enemies that trouble. Besides houses, he had silver mines, and lands well improved: but his chief riches consisted in his slaves: he having a multitude of excellent readers, amanuenses, bankers, stewards, and cooks. He took care to have each well instructed in his business; overlooking them himself, and carefully observing their progress. He thought, in general, that nothing required the master's eye more than his slaves; whom he considered as the living instruments of œconomy; and he used to say, that a master ought to govern his other possessions by his slaves, and his slaves by himself \*. He maintained, that *a man was not rich, unless he could raise and maintain an army at his own expence*. A foolish saying, and very different from *Marius's* manner of thinking: for the latter having distributed fourteen acres in land to each soldier, and understanding that some desired more, thus reprov'd them, "May the gods forbid, that there should be one *Roman* who should think a portion of land sufficient to maintain him, too little."

Notwithstanding this charge of avarice, it is allowed that *Crassus* was very hospitable to strangers, for whom he kept open house,

\* *Mr. Crevier* observes, that he undoubtedly made them exercise the different trades he had taught them, and took the profits; for otherwise such a multitude of slaves, instead of enriching him, would have been a great expence.

and to his friends he would lend money without interest; but as he always called it in exactly at the time when due, they sometimes found greater inconvenience from his kindness, than they would have suffered from paying interest. His entertainments, though plain and frugal, were attended with such elegance, and with such kindness and cheerfulness, as rendered them more agreeable than magnificent. His affability appeared in all his actions, for on his meeting the poorest and meanest citizen, he returned his salutation by name.

He applied to such studies as were proper to qualify him for a popular speaker, and thus became one of the most considerable orators in *Rome*; surpassing in industry those of the greatest genius: for there was no cause, however mean and trifling, to which he came unprepared. Thus he gained the affections of the people, who considered him as a laborious active man, that was always ready to do them service. He was esteemed well acquainted with history, and had acquired some knowledge of *Aristotle's* philosophy from one *Alexander*, whose attachment to him was a sufficient proof of his good-nature and disinterestedness: for it is difficult to determine whether he was poorer when he entered into his service, or when he left it. *Crassus* never took any other friend with him into the country, and then he would lend him his cloak for the journey; but he was sure to demand it again when he returned

return  
tented  
traor  
did  
thing  
Wh  
felves  
ceive  
bility  
was  
self  
with  
vants  
contr  
sons  
findin  
tion,  
dare  
cave  
hins  
serva  
escap  
aboc  
and  
ard  
prov  
out  
his  
thre  
fitiv  
T  
som  
a g  
of

returned to *Rome*. *Alexander's* being contented with this treatment, was the more extraordinary, as the philosophy he professed did not consider poverty as an indifferent thing.

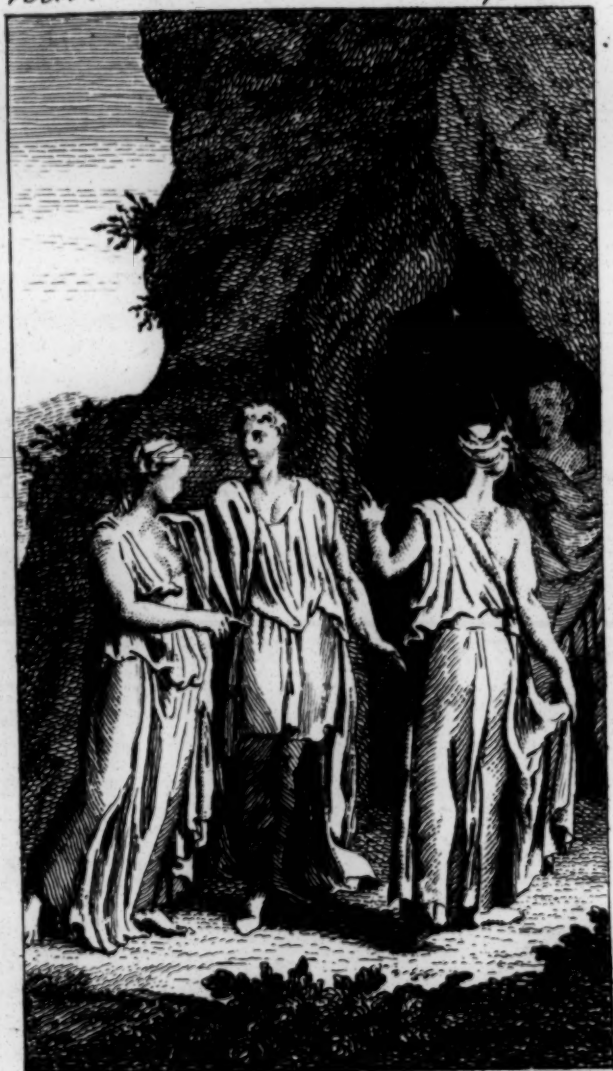
When *Cinna* and *Marius* had vested themselves with absolute power, it was soon perceived that they intended to extirpate the nobility. Among those they caused to be slain was *Crassus's* father and brother: but he himself being very young, escaped by taking with him three of his friends, and ten servants, and flying into *Spain*, where he had contracted an acquaintance with many persons while his father was prætor there: but finding all the people filled with consternation, and the dread of *Marius*, he did not dare to appear publicly, but lay in a spacious cave near the sea shore, that belonged to *Vibius Pacianus*, to whom he sent one of his servants to sound him. *Vibius*, pleased at the escape of *Crassus*, enquired the place of his abode, and the number of his companions, and not daring to visit him, ordered his steward to carry every day a certain quantity of provisions to the entrance of the cave, without taking any farther notice; promising him his liberty on his faithful obedience, and threatening him with death if he was inquisitive.

This cave was formed by the closing of some cliffs, thro' the chinks of which enters a gentle and refreshing breeze. The roof is of a vast height, and there are many large

caverns, one within another, enlightened all day by the natural chinks in the rocks, and watered by a pleasant and wholesome spring, which runs through the cliffs; besides, the air is pure and clear, the damps being carried away by the breeze continually passing through it.

While *Crassus* remained here, the steward brought daily a plentiful and delicious repast. *Pacianus* also took with him two handsome female slaves, and shewing them the place, bid them go in boldly. *Crassus* and his friends, on seeing them, thought they were betrayed, and asking who they were, and what they wanted, they answered as they had been directed, that they came to wait on their master, who was there concealed. On which *Crassus* kept them with him all the time he staid there.

*Crassus* at length hearing that *Gienna* was dead, left this retreat, after he had been concealed there eight months. When making no scruple of appearing publicly, he was soon joined by a great number of people, out of whom he chose 2000, with whom he visited the cities that lay in his way, and having assembled together some ships, he sailed to *Africa*, where he joined *Metellus Pius*, a person of great eminence, who was at the head of a considerable army: but some difference happening between them, *Crassus* soon left him, and went over to *Sylla*, by whom he was much esteemed. On *Sylla's* passing into *Italy*, he kept all the young noblemen



*VIBIUS PACIANUS sends two female  
Slaves to CRASSUS, who is concealed  
in a Cave.*



M  
noblemen  
ployment  
levy troops  
being to  
he asked  
an angry  
" is thy  
" relati  
" which  
" reven  
" *Cassius*  
of rever  
enemy,  
and ever  
*Sylla's* in  
for glor  
singulish  
that *Sylla*  
ed his h  
Imperat  
who the  
perien  
gain tak  
on his t  
he was  
to his o  
proscrip  
great p  
consider  
way of  
scribed  
order,  
account  
any pul



noblemen that were with him in constant employment. *Crassus* in particular was ordered to levy troops in the country of the *Marfians*: but being to pass through the enemy's quarters, he asked *Sylla* for a guard; who replied in an angry tone, "The guard I appoint thee" is thy father, thy brother, thy friends and relations, all murdered contrary to law; "which cruelty and injustice I am now revenging upon the murderers."

*Crassus* roused and enflamed with the thirst of revenge, now boldly broke through the enemy, raised a considerable body of troops, and ever after shewed the greatest zeal for *Sylla's* interest. Hence arose the emulation for glory between him and *Pompey*, who distinguished himself so much in these wars, that *Sylla* stood up at his approach, uncovered his head, and saluted him with the title of Imperator. This fired and provoked *Crassus*, who tho' older than *Pompey* wanted his experience; and besides his insatiable thirst of gain tarnished the lustre of his actions: for on his taking *Tuder*, a town of the *Umbrians*, he was charged with converting all the spoils to his own use. But he lost most credit in the proscriptions and sequestrations, by making great purchases for little money, and getting considerable estates conveyed over to him by way of gift. 'Tis even said, that he proscribed one of the *Brutians* without *Sylla's* order, merely for his own profit; on which account *Sylla* afterwards never trusted him in any public affairs. Yet though *Crassus* was the

the most rapacious of all men, he always hated and railed at those who were of the same disposition. Despairing of becoming equal to *Pompey*, in war, he eagerly applied himself to civil affairs, and by doing acts of kindness, pleading, lending money, and using his interest for those who stood for offices, he acquired as much honour and power as *Pompey* had obtained by his many famous expeditions. This emulation, however, never produced any hatred or animosity between them.

The events of the life of *Crassus*, make it necessary to give a concise history of the war of *Spartacus*. One *Lentulus Batiatus* trained up a great number of gladiators in the city of *Capua*\*, many of whom were *Gauls* and *Thracians*, and the greatest part of them were by the injustice and cruelty of their master forced to engage in this employment. Hence 200 of them resolved to make their escape: but their design was discovered, on which seventy eight, who had the first intimation of it, seized on the knives and spits they found in a cook's shop, and made their way through the city. Passing on they met several waggons loaded with the arms used by gladiators, which were carrying to another

\* This city was situated about two miles from the present city of *Capua*, and still contains several magnificent remains of its ancient grandeur; for which see *The World Display'd*, vol. xviii. page 198.



## MARCUS CRASSUS. 9

city; with these they armed themselves, and having secured an advantageous post, chose three of their comrades to be their leaders, of whom *Spartacus*, a *Tracian* shepherd, and a man of great strength and courage was chief. They soon defeated some troops sent from *Capua* to quell them, and seizing on the arms of their enemies, which were proper for soldiers, chearfully threw away their own, which were esteemed dishonourable. *Clodius*, the prætor, was afterwards sent against them with 3000 men, and besieged them in a mountain that had but one pass, which was narrow and difficult, and this *Clodius* kept guarded: all the rest of the mountain being encompassed by cliffs and precipices; though on the top there were many wild vines. The besieged now cut as many boughs as were fit for their purpose, and twisting them into ladders long enough to reach to the bottom, all got down except one, who staid behind to throw down their arms; after which he saved himself with the rest. The *Romans* thought they still kept them confined; but to their great astonishment, were attacked behind by surprise, and being put to flight, their camp was taken. The slaves were then joined by many shepherds and herdsmen in that neighbourhood, all stout and active men: some of whom they armed completely, and others they used as scouts and light armed soldiers. *Publius Varinus* was next sent against them, and *Furius*, his lieutenant, attacked them with 2000 men; but was defeated. Then *Cossinius*,  
*Varinus's*

*Varinus's* colleague, was sent with a considerable force: but *Spartacus* had like to have taken him prisoner, while he was bathing at *Salernæ*, from whence he, with difficulty, escaped; *Spartacus* however seized his baggage, and continuing the pursuit, stormed his camp, and slew a great number of the *Romans*, among whom was *Cossinius*. He afterwards defeated the general himself in several engagements, took his horse and liſtors, and became very formidable. But considering that he could not resist the whole force of the *Romans*, he marched towards the *Alps*, intending, when he had passed those mountains, that his men should return into their own countries, some into *Gaul*, and the rest into *Thrace*. But his army being elated with their success, refused to obey him, and stayed to ravage *Italy*.

The senate now began to consider this insurrection as of dangerous consequence, and therefore both the consuls were sent against them. *Gellius*, one of the consuls, surprized a party of *Germans*, who through confidence had straggled from *Spartacus*, and cut them to pieces. *Lentulus* with a great army overtook *Spartacus*, whom he in a manner besieged, but sallying out, he defeated *Lentulus's* lieutenants, and took all the baggage. *Spartacus* now continuing his march, *Cassius*, prætor of that part of *Gaul* situated about the *Po*, attacked him with 10,000 men, but was also defeated, and he himself with difficulty escaped,

escaped, after having lost a great number of his men.

The senate being informed of this, took the command from the consuls, and gave it to *Crassus*, with whom many senators went as volunteers. He encamped in the territory of *Picenum*, where he waited for *Spartacus*, and in the mean time detached *Mummius* his lieutenant, with two legions to take a large circuit, and come behind the enemy, ordering him neither to engage, nor skirmish with them: but upon the first prospect of success, he gave *Spartacus* battle, and was defeated: many of his men fell in the action, and a great number of those who escaped left their arms behind them. *Crassus* severely reprimanded *Mummius*, and delivering new arms to the soldiers, made them find surety for their keeping them better than they had down the others: but the five hundred who fled first he divided into fifty parts, and put to death by lot one out of each. Thus he revived the ancient decimation, which had been long disused: a punishment attended with the greatest ignominy, as it was inflicted before the whole army, which it filled with dread and terror.

*Crassus* having thus chastised his soldiers, marched with them towards the enemy: but *Spartacus* retired through *Lucania*, to the sea shore, where finding some *Cilician* pirates, he bargained with them to transport him, and 2000 men, into *Sicily*, where he was in hopes of rekindling the war of the slaves, which was but lately extinguished: but the pirates having

having made the bargain, and received his money, failed away. Thus disappointed, he went and pitched his camp in the peninsula of *Rbegium*; where *Crassus* coming up with him, immediately began to cut off the enemy's provisions, by drawing a fortification across the *Isthmus*. This was soon completed, and consisted of a ditch, fifteen feet broad, as much in depth, and 300 furlongs in length, faced with a high and strong wall. *Spartacus* slighted this work; and when provisions began to fail, took the advantage of a snowy night, and filling up a small part of the ditch with boughs of trees and earth, passed over the third part of his army. *Crassus* was now apprehensive lest he should march directly to *Rome*; but his fears were soon removed, by his finding that many of *Spartacus's* men had revolted, and were encamped on the *Lucanian* lake. *Crassus* attacked these, and put them to flight; but *Spartacus* coming up to their assistance, repelled the pursuers, and rallied the fugitives.

*Crassus* had formerly advised the senate to recall *Pompey* from *Spain*, and *Lucullus* from *Thrace*; but now knowing that the honour would be obtained by him who came first to his assistance, he resolved, if possible, to finish the war before they came. He accordingly sent 6000 men to secure an eminence that commanded a body of the enemy encamped by themselves; but they were perceived by two women who were sacrificing before

ed his  
 inted,  
 penin-  
 ng up  
 out the  
 rtifica-  
 com-  
 en feet  
 arlongs  
 g wall.  
 en pro-  
 ge of a  
 part of  
 earth,  
 Cras-  
 should  
 rs were  
 any of  
 ere en-  
 ssus at-  
 t; but  
 nce, re-  
 e fugi-  
 enate to  
 us from  
 honour  
 e first to  
 ble, to  
 accord-  
 minence  
 my en-  
 ere per-  
 crificing  
 before

before the enemy's camp, and would have been in extreme danger, had not *Crassus* suddenly marched up and given the enemy battle. The engagement was extremely obstinate and bloody: for 12,300 of the enemy were slain on the spot, of whom there were only two wounded in the back, the rest dying while fighting bravely in their ranks. *Spartacus* now retired to the mountains of *Petelia*; but *Quintus*, one of *Crassus*'s commanders, and *Scrophus* the quaestor, pursued and overtook him; when *Spartacus* facing about, the *Romans* basely fled, and with great difficulty carried off their quaestor, who was wounded. But *Spartacus* was ruined by the spirits this success gave to his followers, who now disdaining to continue a flying fight, compelled their officers to march back thro' *Lucania*, and lead them against the *Romans*. This was what *Crassus* ardently wished; he encamped near the enemy, and began to dig an entrenchment: the slaves making a sally, attacked those who were at work, when fresh supplies coming in on both sides, *Spartacus* seeing that it was impossible to avoid an engagement, drew up his whole army in order of battle. His horse being then brought him, he drew his sword, and killed him on the spot, crying, "If I get the day, I shall have many better horses of the enemy, and if I lose it, I shall have no need of this." Then rushing towards *Crassus* through showers of darts, and over heaps of the dead, he slew two centurions, who attacked him, and



being at length hemmed in by his enemies, bravely stood his ground for a long time, and at last fell, overpowered by numbers.

Though *Crassus* in obtaining this victory, not only acted the part of a good general, but even exposed his person; yet *Pompey*, though absent, shared in the honour; for meeting and slaying many who fled, he wrote to the senate, *That Crassus had indeed vanquished the fugitives in a pitched battle; but that he had pulled up the war by the roots.* *Pompey* was soon after honoured with a magnificent triumph, on account of his victory over *Sertorius* in *Spain*; but it was thought mean in *Crassus* to accept of even an ovation for a servile war.

*Pompey*, on the merit of his great exploits, was immediately named consul, when *Crassus*, though he had no reason to doubt his being named with him, did not scruple to request his assistance. *Pompey* pleased with such an application, from his having long desired to serve him, assisted him with all his interest; and afterwards declared in a full assembly of the people, That he was not less obliged to them for his colleague, than for his own advancement. This amity did not however continue long after they had entered upon their office; for differing almost in every thing, they were continually clashing. Thus their consulship expired without any action of consequence, except *Crassus*'s making a great feast to *Hercules*; entertaining the people at 10,000 tables, and measuring

ing out  
before  
*Roman*  
the coun  
sembly  
" peare  
" you,  
" suls t  
" friend  
they sho  
silent, b  
" I cann  
" guilty  
" of my  
" friend  
" selves  
" man's  
" trium  
" the se  
bliging  
effected.  
This  
*Crassus*'s  
for he w  
deed, th  
tributary  
*Catulus*,  
a misund  
down th  
which ha  
ment, *C*  
the consp  
orations,

ing out to them corn for three months. Just before their office expired, *Caius Aurelius*, a Roman knight, who lived a retired life in the country, mounting the Rostrum at an assembly of the people, cried, "*Jupiter* appeared to me, and commanded me to tell you, that you must not permit your consuls to resign their office till they are made friends." The people then cried out, that they should be reconciled. *Pompey* remained silent, but *Crassus* offering him his hand, said, "I cannot think, my countrymen, that I am guilty of meanness, or of acting unworthy of myself, in making the first offers of friendship to *Pompey*, whom you yourselves stiled *The Great* before he was of man's estate, and to whom you decreed a triumph before he was qualified to sit in the senate." *Pompey* did not reject so obliging an offer, and the reconciliation was effected.

This is all that was memorable during *Crassus's* consulship; but while he was censor he was entirely unactive. It is said, indeed, that unjustly intending to make *Egypt* tributary to *Rome*, he was warmly opposed by *Catulus*, and that this was the source of such a misunderstanding, that they mutually laid down their office. In *Catiline's* conspiracy, which had like to have subverted the government, *Crassus* was suspected of being one of the conspirators; and *Cicero*, in one of his orations, openly charges both *Crassus* and

*Caesar* with being concerned in it. After this *Crassus* became the enemy of *Cicero*; but his son prevented his doing him any injury; for young *Crassus* being fond of learning, and the study of eloquence, was such an admirer of *Cicero*, that on his being banished, he put himself into mourning, and persuaded the rest of the young men to do so too; and at last produced a reconciliation between his father and him.

*Caesar*, on his return from his province to solicit for the consulship, finding *Crassus* and *Pompey* again at variance, was unwilling to disoblige the one by applying to the other, and therefore reconciled them; for this purpose, he represented that by destroying each other, they advanced *Cicero*, *Catulus*, and *Caro*; who would be really inconsiderable should they join their forces together, as their union would enable them to conduct the affairs of the empire as they pleased. Thus they all three established an irresistible power that destroyed the authority both of the senate and people: *Pompey* and *Crassus* were not indeed greater than they were before; but by their means *Caesar* became greater than them both, and he was declared consul without opposition. On his conclusion of that office with credit, they decreed him the command of the army, and appointed him *Gaul* for his province, in order that they might, without interruption, divide the other provinces between them. To this *Pom-*

pey was p  
power,  
ambition  
umphs.

On *Ca*  
many pe  
whom w  
consultat  
affairs in  
*Caesar* sh  
forces, a  
obtain th  
consequ  
otherwis  
fulship a  
to assist  
sending  
to give

Thou  
for the  
sooner d  
they all  
*Domitius*  
lation,  
ing, tha  
berty;  
properly  
power,  
Thus w  
appear  
ready to  
party ap  
did not



pey was prompted by an immoderate desire of power, while *Crassus* was actuated by the ambition of obtaining trophies and triumphs.

On *Cæsar's* coming out of *Gaul* to *Luca*, many people went thither to meet him, among whom was *Crassus* and *Pompey*. After several consultations how to keep the management of affairs in their own hands, it was agreed that *Cæsar* should continue at the head of his forces, and that *Crassus* and *Pompey* should obtain the government of new provinces, and consequently new armies, which could no otherwise be done, but by obtaining the consulship a second time, in which *Cæsar* agreed to assist them, by writing to his friends, and sending a good number of his soldiers to *Rome* to give their votes.

Though several persons put in their claim for the consulship, *Crassus* and *Pompey* no sooner declared themselves candidates, than they all dropped their pretensions, except *Domitius*; for *Cato* being his friend and relation, prompted him to persist, by observing, that he was engaged in the cause of liberty; while *Crassus* and *Pompey* did not so properly aim at the consulship, as at arbitrary power, by obtaining provinces and armies. Thus was *Domitius* in a manner compelled to appear in the Forum, where he found many ready to join him. This rendering *Pompey's* party apprehensive of a disappointment, they did not scruple to way-lay *Domitius* as he was going

going before day-break to the Forum, and having killed his torch-bearer, and wounded several others, among whom was *Cato*, they forced them into a house, where they kept them confined till the election was over. Soon after they made *Domitius* prisoner in his own house, drove *Cato* out of the Forum, and killed some who made resistance: then decreeing *Cæsar* the command for five years, decided by lot, that the government of both the *Spains* should fall to *Pompey*, and that of *Syria* to *Crassus*.

On this success, *Crassus* was transported with his good fortune, and the hope of future conquests, which he would not limit even to *Parthia* and *Syria*; but vainly considering the actions of *Lucullus* and *Pompey* against *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, as mere trifles, he flattered himself with the hopes of passing as far as *Bactria*, *India*, and the utmost ocean. But when he was ready to set out on his expedition against *Parthia*, *Ateius*, one of the tribunes of the people, threatened to stop him, and many were ready to join with him; for they were filled with indignation at the thoughts of his entering into a war against a people who had never injured them, and were in friendship and alliance with the *Romans*. Alarmed at this menace, *Crassus* desired *Pompey* to accompany him, and the people, who had resolved to obstruct his passage, no sooner saw *Pompey* walking before him, than they opened on each side to make way for him: but *Ateius* meeting him, boldly ordered him

not

not to  
officer  
bunes  
him.  
placed a  
and as  
it perfu  
invoked  
uttering  
cations.  
is such  
that nor  
the per  
whence  
them.

Notwi  
to *Bruna*  
tempestu  
but goin  
his passa  
forces, he  
where se  
age was  
raillery f  
"twelft  
"plied  
"thian  
"ing:"

*Crassus*  
and passin

\* A p  
*Amasia*.

not to proceed, and then commanded an officer to seize him; but the other tribunes interposing, he was forced to release him. *Ateius* then running to the gate, placed a pan of live coals on the ground, and as soon as *Crassus* came, threw into it perfumes, and pouring libations over them, invoked some strange and terrible deities, uttering against him the most horrid imprecations. The *Romans* imagine that there is such virtue in these ancient sacred rights, that none can escape their effects, and that the person who uses them never prospers; whence few have the courage to practise them.

Notwithstanding this, *Crassus* proceeded to *Brundisium*, and though the weather was tempestuous, he had not patience to wait, but going on board, lost many of his ships in his passage. With the remainder of his forces, he marched on foot through *Galatia*\*; where seeing king *Deiotarus*, who in his old age was building a new city, he by way of raillery said, "You begin to build at the twelfth hour." "Neither do you, replied he laughing, undertake your *Parthian* expedition very early in the morning:" for *Crassus* was sixty years of age.

*Crassus* built a bridge over the *Euphrates*, and passing it in safety, many cities of *Meso-*

\* A province of *Asia Minor*, now called *Amasia*.

*potamia*\* voluntarily surrendered to him; but *Zenodotia* making a vigorous resistance, he took it by storm, plundered it, and sold all the inhabitants. He afterwards placed 7000 foot, and 100 horse, to guard his new conquests, and then returning, took up his winter quarters in *Syria*, where he was met by his son, whom *Cæsar* had honoured with several military rewards, and had sent him out of *Gaul* to his father with a select body of 1000 chosen horse.

Here *Crassus* was guilty of a very great error; for instead of marching forward to seize *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, cities in constant enmity with the *Parthians*, he gave the enemy time to provide for their defence. He even spent his time in *Syria*, like an usurer rather than a general; for instead of reviewing and exercising his soldiers, he made an exact computation of the revenues of the cities, and spent many days in weighing the treasure in the temple of *Hierapolis*. He sent a list to all the towns of the number of soldiers they were to raise, and when they were levied, rendered himself contemptible by discharging them for a sum of money. He had just drawn his army out of their winter quarters, when he received ambassadors from the king of *Parthia*, who told him, that if the army was sent by the people of *Rome*, their sovereign

\* Now the province of *Diarbeck*, situated between the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*.

denounced

denounce  
*Crassus*,  
consent  
merely t  
take pity  
soldiers.  
rogance  
swer at S  
of them,  
with a fr  
“ before  
turning  
him that  
*mans* in  
great ha  
that they  
the num  
of fight  
them b  
they fle  
swift as  
pierced  
armour  
the wea  
The f  
no differ  
*Armenia*  
*Lucullus*  
courage  
account  
and par  
*Crassus* t  
take ne  
*Crassus* i

denounced eternal war against them ; but if *Crassus*, as he was informed, had without the consent of the *Romans* invaded his country, merely to gratify his own avarice, he would take pity on *Crassus's* age, and send back the soldiers. To this *Crassus* with an air of arrogance replied, that he would return his answer at *Seleucia*. Upon this *Vagises*, the chief of them, shewing the palm of his hand, said with a smile, " Hair will grow here, *Crassus*, " before thou wilt see *Seleucia*." Then returning to *Orodes*, their king, they informed him that he must prepare for war. Some *Romans* in garrison in *Meopotamia*, now with great hazard came to *Crassus*, and told him, that they by experience were acquainted with the number of the enemy, and their manner of fighting ; that it was impossible to escape them by flight, or to overtake them when they fled ; that they had strange weapons as swift as light, that before they could be seen, pierced whatever opposed them ; and that the armour of the *Parthians* was proof against all the weapons of their enemies.

The soldiers, who had thought there was no difference between the *Parthians* and the *Armenians* and *Cappadocians*, that had tired *Lucullus* in pursuing them, lost much of their courage and resolution on their hearing this account ; and some of the principal officers, and particularly *Cassius* the quæstor, advised *Crassus* to proceed no farther, but to stay and take new measures. But what most confirmed *Crassus* in his resolution to proceed, was the  
a rival

arrival of *Artabases* king of *Armenia*, who came to his assistance with 6000 horse, and promised him 10,000 more armed from head to foot; besides 30,000 infantry, all to be maintained at his own expence. This prince endeavoured to persuade *Crassus* to invade *Parthia* \* by way of *Armenia*, where he promised to supply his army with forage, and where his passage would be more secure, from the roughness of the country, and a continued chain of mountains that were almost impassable to the horse, in which the principal strength of the *Parthians* consisted. *Crassus* thanked him in the warmest terms for his generous offers; but telling him that he was resolved to pass through *Mesopotamia*, where he had left many brave *Roman* soldiers, the king took his leave, and returned home.

*Crassus* began his march along the *Euphrates* with seven legions, almost 4000 horse, and as many light armed soldiers. Before he had been long on his march, some of his servants returning, declared that they had seen the prints of the feet of many horses, which appeared as if they had fled before an enemy. *Crassus* was greatly encouraged by this intelligence, and the *Romans* began again to despise the *Parthians* as cowards, who did not dare to face them: but *Cassius* advised refreshing the men in some of the gar-

\* This country was situated almost in the middle of modern *Persia*.

rison to  
the ene  
wards S  
the riv  
venienc  
that m  
while t  
surroun

At t  
amnes,  
man of  
some o  
*Pompey*,  
favours  
of the  
king's  
camp,  
benefac  
troops,  
in prep  
ing wit  
flying  
nians.

" resol  
" mak  
" is r  
" draw  
" Sure  
" but  
represe  
for Oro  
parts,  
order t  
sent ag



rison towns, till they could get intelligence of the enemy ; at least, if they marched towards *Seleucia*, to do it along the banks of the river, which would afford them the convenience of ships to bring them provisions, that might always accompany the army, while the water would prevent their being surrounded.

At this time there came to the camp *Arimnes*, the chief of an *Arabian* clan, and a man of great subtlety. He was known to some of the soldiers who had served under *Pompey*, from whom he had received some favours, and was considered as a true friend of the *Romans* ; but he was suborned by the king's officers. On his first coming to the camp, he began by extolling *Pompey* as his benefactor : then seemed to admire *Crassus's* troops, but blamed him for wasting his time in preparations against those who were taking with them their most valuable effects, and flying for shelter to the *Scythians*, or *Hyrca-nians*. " But suppose, said he, they were " resolved to fight, you ought at least to " make what haste you can, before the king " is recovered from his fright, and has " drawn his forces together. At present " *Surena* and *Syllaces* are sent to amuse you ; " but the king keeps at a distance." This representation was however entirely false ; for *Orodes* having divided his army into two parts, was in person ravaging *Armenia*, in order to be revenged of *Artabases*, while he sent against the *Romans* *Surena*, the first per-  
son

son in the kingdom for courage and skill, and the second with respect to wealth, family, and authority. Nor was he exceeded by any in stature, and the comeliness of his person. Whenever he travelled, he had a thousand camels to carry his baggage, 200 chariots for his concubines, a thousand men completely armed for his guards, with a more numerous body of light-armed troops; and the vassals and slaves in his retinue, amounted to at least 10,000. He inherited from his ancestors the honour of placing the crown on the king's head at his coronation. He had restored *Orodes* from exile, and taken the great city of *Seleucia*, where he was the first that scaled the walls; and tho' he was not above thirty years of age, was remarkable for his good sense, and his prudence.

*Ariamnes* having prevailed on *Crassus* to withdraw from the river, he led him by a way that at first seemed pleasant and easy, into a vast plain without trees or water. The soldiers were soon spent with thirst, and the difficulty of the passage; while they were dispirited, by beholding a dreary unbounded prospect, in which no plant, stream, or hillock, was to be seen, and at having nothing in view but heaps of sand, which blown by the wind, rolled in upon them like the waves of a tempestuous sea. Messengers now arrived from *Artabases*, by whom that prince informed *Crassus*, that *Orodes* having invaded his country, it was impossible for him to send him succours. He therefore ad-

vised

vised  
with t  
battle  
camp  
to the  
daining  
told hi  
at leisu  
in due  
treach

*Cass*  
*sus*, no  
in very  
leading  
that c  
of gre  
tience  
the ran  
ing th  
" eve  
" and  
" are  
" and  
having  
and co  
enemy

*Cra*  
his in  
till a f  
that t  
they t  
thians  
resolut  
was n

Vor



vised him to march towards *Armenia*, where, with their joint forces, they might give *Orodes* battle; conjuring him at least never to incamp in the open plains, but to keep close to the mountains. But *Crassus* insolently disdain-  
ing to return him an answer in writing, told his messengers, that at present he was not at leisure to attend to the *Armenians*, but that in due time he would punish *Artabases* for his treachery.

*Crassus* highly incensed at the folly of *Crassus*, now forbore giving him his advice, but in very severe terms reproached *Ariamnes* for leading them into that dreary desert; but that crafty Barbarian, with the appearance of great humility, conjured him to have patience a little longer. He then passed through the ranks, and animated the soldiers, by asking them with a sneer, "Do you expect every where to find springs, and shades and baths? You must consider, that you are now traversing the confines of *Arabia* and *Assyria*." Soon after he rode away, having persuaded *Crassus*, that he would go and contrive how to disorder the affairs of the enemy.

*Crassus* now hastening his march, compelled his infantry to keep pace with the cavalry, till a few of the scouts returning, reported that their companions were slain, and that they had with difficulty escaped; the *Parthians* being at hand with a numerous and resolute body of forces. The whole army was now seized with consternation, and

*Crassus*, in the greatest confusion, drew up his forces into a square, and made a front every way, each front consisting of twelve cohorts \*; *Cassius* commanded one of the wings, young *Crassus*, the other, and he posted himself in the centre.

In this manner they marched, till they reached the river *Balissus*, which, tho' a small stream, gave great joy to the soldiers, from their having suffered by heat and drought in their passage over the desert. Most of the commanders were for encamping there that night, and sending to learn the number and order of the enemy, against whom they proposed to march at break of day: but *Crassus* commanded those who wanted refreshment, to eat and drink as they stood in their ranks, and before all had done, led them on with a quick and continued pace, till they came within sight of the enemy, who, to their great surprize, appeared neither so numerous, nor so magnificently armed as they expected; *Surenas* having hid his main force behind the first ranks, and to prevent their being discovered by the glittering of their armour, had commanded them to cover it, with their vests, or with skins.

When both armies were ready to engage, the field was filled with the noise made by the *Parthian* drums, surrounded with brass bells, which being unknown to the *Romans*,

\* The *Roman* cohort was a body of infantry of five or six hundred men.

seemed  
der, a  
sudden  
armour  
bright  
made  
iron tr  
tallest  
peared  
his loo  
promis  
really  
and hi  
the *Me*  
hair li  
combec  
ranks  
perceiv  
firmnes  
they re  
denly  
commar  
but foot  
they w  
armed f  
strength  
which  
their an  
were dr  
sible to  
were de  
large an  
arrows  
The *Rom*

seemed compounded of the rattling of thunder, and the bellowing of wild beasts, and suddenly throwing off the covering of their armour, they appeared all on fire, from the brightness of their helmets, and breast-plates made of *Margian* steel, and the brass and iron trappings of their horses. *Surena*, the tallest and comeliest man in the army, appeared at their head; when the sweetness of his looks, and the effeminacy of his habit, promised less strength and courage than he really possessed; for his face was painted, and his hair parted after the manner of the *Medes*, but the other *Parthians* wore their hair like the *Scythians*, rough and uncombed. They first attempted to break the ranks of the *Romans*, with their pikes, but perceiving the depth of their files, and the firmness with which they stood their ground, they retreated, and seeming to separate, suddenly encompassed the *Romans*. *Crassus* commanded his light armed troops to charge; but soon meeting with a shower of arrows, they were obliged to retire among the heavy armed soldiers; for they now perceived the strength and temper of the *Parthian* weapons, which no armour could resist: they let fly their arrows on all sides, while the *Romans* were drawn up so close, that it was impossible to miss them. The wounds they gave were deep and terrible: for their bows being large and very strong, they discharged their arrows with inconceivable rapidity and force. The *Romans* now found themselves in a dread-

ful situation. If they kept their ranks, they were mortally wounded; if they charged the enemy, they could make no impression; and even while the *Parthians* fled, they shot their pursuers. The *Romans* at first flattered themselves that they would soon have spent all their arrows, and that then they would either retire, or come to a close engagement; but at last finding that there were many camels loaded with arrows, placed in the rear, and that when they had discharged all they had, they wheeled off, and took more, they began to despair, and *Craſſus* ordered his son, at all events, to engage the enemy. The young man taking with him 3000 horse, a great part of which were *Gauls*, 500 archers, and eight cohorts of infantry \*, attempted to charge a body of the enemy, on which they instantly fled, when young *Craſſus* crying aloud, "They dare not stand," pursued them full speed, followed by the infantry, who thinking they had in a manner already conquered, were elated with the hope of victory: but when they had got far from the main body, the enemy suddenly turned again, and were joined by many others. *Craſſus* halted, thinking they would come to a close engagement; but the *Parthians* placing their armed cavalry in the front, detached their light horse, who soon inclosed them on every side; and scouring along the plain, raised the sand in such clouds, that the *Romans* could neither see nor speak to each

\* They consisted of near 6000 men.

other;

other:  
*Parthia*  
 and ro  
 rows sti  
 torment  
 out, the  
 veins.  
 were sti  
 ry: bu  
 ed to th  
 ground.  
 fly. H  
 horse;  
 weak ja  
 with to  
 steel;  
 clothed  
 sistance  
 my. Y  
 penden  
 formed  
 in their  
 where  
 of their  
 their o  
 enemy,  
 made t  
 were,  
 excessiv  
 their ho  
 spears  
 ligned t  
 carry o  
 ously w

# MARCUS CRASSUS. 27

other: they were a kind of butt for the *Parthian* arrows, the wounded fell in heaps, and rolling upon the ground with the arrows sticking in their bodies, died in extreme torment; and if they tried to pluck them out, the barbed points tore their nerves and veins. Young *Crassus* ordered those who were still standing to charge the armed cavalry: but they shewed him their hands fastened to their shields, and their feet stuck to the ground, so that they could neither fight nor fly. He therefore charged briskly with his horse; but his men with their small and weak javelins, struck again bodies covered with tough raw hides, or well-tempered steel; while the *Gauls* were either naked, or clothed in slight armour, that made no resistance against the strong spears of the enemy. Young *Crassus* had placed his chief dependence on these troops, which indeed performed wonders; for they seized the enemy in their arms, and threw them on the ground, where they could scarce stir from the weight of their armour; many of the *Gauls* quitting their own horses, crept under those of the enemy, and wounding them in the belly, made them throw their riders. The *Gauls* were, however, exceedingly distressed by excessive heat and thirst, and lost most of their horses by riding full speed against the spears of the *Parthian* cavalry, which obliged them to retire towards the foot, and to carry off young *Crassus*, who was dangerously wounded.

Observing a sandy eminence, at a small distance, they retreated to it, when tying their horses one to another, and joining their shields together, they intrenched themselves, as it were behind them; thinking the horses would prove a defence against the Barbarians; but the inequality of the ground making the rear appear above the front, they were all equally exposed to the missive weapons of the enemy, and could only bewail the misfortune of dying so ingloriously. With young *Crassus* were two *Greeks*, who had settled in that country; these pressed him to retire with them to *Ischnæ*, a town at a small distance, that had declared for the *Romans*: but he answered, that no death was so cruel as to oblige him to abandon those who sacrificed their lives for his sake. Then conjuring them to provide for their own safety, he embraced, and dismissed them. Being unable to use his own hand, which was pierced by an arrow, he commanded his armour-bearer to run him through the body, which he did. Most of the other principal officers slew themselves; and the rest fell by the spears of the *Parthians*, defending themselves to the last; so that the Barbarians took only 500 prisoners, and having cut off the head of young *Crassus*, they marched against his father.

*Marcus Crassus* on being informed that his son was engaged in the pursuit of the enemy, began to recover his courage, and drawing his army to an advantageous post, expected

peddled e  
messenger  
first sent  
had been  
last escap  
that you  
not spec  
distracted  
longer th  
dered the  
his son;  
*thians* re  
with lous  
and the  
carried t  
point of  
spiring t  
thirst of  
and tren  
with mo  
passing  
" This,  
" but th  
" while  
" be co  
" sons,"  
" the en  
" reveng  
voured to  
but he f  
gave wa  
*Parthian*  
of the *R*  
rows, wh



pected every moment his son's return. The messengers that brave and active youth had first sent to inform his father of his danger, had been cut off by the Barbarians, and the last escaping with difficulty, let him know, that young *Crassus* would be lost, if he was not speedily succoured. The father now, distracted by a crowd of passions, had no longer the use of his reason; he however ordered the army to march to the assistance of his son; but at that very moment, the *Parthians* returning from the defeat of *Crassus*, with loud exclamations, songs of victory, and the sound of their drums and cymbals, carried the head of the young man on the point of a spear. This sight, instead of inspiring the *Romans* with courage, and the thirst of revenge, struck them with horror and trembling. *Crassus*, however, behaved with more steadiness and resolution; for passing through the ranks, he cried out, "This, O *Romans*! is my peculiar loss; but the fortune and glory of *Rome* are safe while you are living; yet if any one be concerned for my losing the best of sons, let him turn his resentment against the enemy; put a stop to their joy, and revenge their cruelty." He thus endeavoured to revive the courage of his soldiers; but he strove in vain; the shout the soldiers gave was faint, low, and unequal. The *Parthian* light horse now flanking the wings of the *Romans*, annoyed them with their arrows, while the infantry attacking the front with

with their spears, many rushed upon them, to avoid dying a more painful death by the arrows ; for the Barbarians pushed their long thick spears with such force, that they often pierced through two men at once. The fight continued till the two armies were parted by the night, when the *Parthians* retreating, encamped near the *Romans*, with the hopes of compleating their victory the next day.

The *Romans* now neither thought of burying their dead, nor of assisting the wounded or the dying. They were solely employed in lamenting their misfortunes, from which they had no prospect of escaping. Notwithstanding their being sensible that *Crassus* was the sole cause of their distress, they were all desirous of seeing him, and of hearing him speak : but he had cast himself on the earth in a remote corner, with his head covered, and lay as a striking instance of the instability of fortune, and as a fatal example of the effects of rashness and ambition. While he remained in this situation, *Octavius*, his lieutenant, came with *Cassius*, to rouse and comfort him : but finding him wholly abandoned to grief, they called a council of war, in which it was resolved that the army should instantly march without sound of trumpet. Their orders were at first obeyed with profound silence ; but when the sick and wounded found they were left behind, the camp was filled with outcries and lamentations, which struck those on their march with terror, as if the enemy were behind them.

Thus

Thus by  
battle, a  
wounded  
great dea  
300 hors  
called to  
*Coponius*  
a very g  
ceeded f  
he saved  
nor suspo  
manner o  
the *Rom*  
dered th  
ing that  
city, we  
with the  
the town

Tho'

treat of  
them in  
than the  
less than  
left behi  
picked u  
of *Crass*  
being se  
was nex  
who slew  
who atte  
drawn f  
enemy ;  
bravery,

Thus by sometimes drawing up in order of battle, and at others stopping to take up the wounded that followed them, they waited a great deal of time. However, *Signatius*, with 300 horse arriving about midnight at *Carra*, called to the guard, and bidding them tell *Coponius* the governor, that *Crassus* had fought a very great battle with the *Parthians*, proceeded forward to *Zeugma*, by which means he saved himself and his men. The governor suspecting from this hasty and confused manner of delivering this information, that the *Romans* were defeated, immediately ordered the garrison to arms, and on his hearing that *Crassus* was marching towards that city, went to meet him, and received him with the miserable remains of the army into the town.

Tho' the *Parthians* had perceived the retreat of the *Romans*, they did not pursue them in the dark; but it was no sooner day, than they entered the camp, and put no less than 4000 wounded men, who had been left behind, to the sword; and their cavalry picked up many stragglers. *Vargontinus*, one of *Crassus's* lieutenants, with three cohorts, being separated from the army in the night, was next morning found by the *Parthians*, who slew the whole body, except twenty, who attempted to force their way with their drawn swords through the thickest of the enemy; when the Barbarians admiring their bravery, opened their ranks, and suffered them

them to pass to *Carræ*, without farther molestation.

*Surena* being soon after informed that *Crassus*, with his principal officers, had escaped, and that only a confused multitude were got into *Carræ*, resolved to be informed of the truth, to know whether he should attempt to overtake *Crassus*, or besiege him in that city. For this purpose he sent one of his interpreters to the walls, with orders to call either the general, or *Cassius*, and to tell them, that *Surena* desired a conference with them. *Crassus* no sooner heard this, than he embraced the proposal, and a band of *Arabians* who knew them coming up, both *Cassius* and he agreed to the proposed interview, and desired that a time and place might be appointed. *Surena* rejoiced at finding that *Crassus* was in a place where he might besiege him, and the next day marching with his army to *Carræ*, declared, that if the *Romans* expected any mercy, they must immediately deliver *Crassus* and *Cassius* bound into his hands. The *Romans* exasperated by this double dealing, advised *Crassus* to fly, and it not being customary for the *Parthians* to fight in the dark, he chose to begin his flight by night. But this unhappy general chose for his guide one *Andronicus*, who held a secret correspondence with the enemy, and lest he should get the start of them too far, led him round about, and at last brought him into deep morasses, and places where there were many ditches and enclosures.

*Cassius*

*Cassius* and  
chery, re  
bian guid  
moon wa  
he was m  
ing with  
500 horse  
men unde  
ful guide  
the moun  
day got in

*Crassus*  
fens and  
him befo  
had with  
diers, on  
When h  
the way  
behind h  
tavius, v  
distant,  
defensibl  
to that o  
seeing *Cr*  
followers  
rest repro  
dice, fol  
thians fro  
their shi  
should n  
row, wh

*Surena*  
grew fai  
if the R

*Cassius* and some others now suspecting treachery, returned to *Carræ*; where his *Arabian* guides persuading him to stay till the moon was out of *Scorpio*, he smartly replied, he was most afraid of *Sagittarius*; and marching with the utmost expedition, arrived with 500 horse safe in *Syria*. *Octavius*, with 5000 men under his command, having more faithful guides than *Crassus*, took his way by the mountains of *Sinaca*, and by break of day got into places of security.

*Crassus* was however so entangled in the fens and rough ways, that the day overtook him before he could get clear of them. He had with him four cohorts of legionary soldiers, only a few horsemen, and five lictors. When he had with great difficulty got into the way: he found that the enemy were just behind him; but instead of going to join *Octavius*, who was not above a mile and a half distant, he retreated to another hill not so defensible; but it was joined by a long ridge to that on which *Octavius* was posted; who seeing *Crassus's* danger, returned with a few followers to his relief: but soon after, the rest reproaching themselves for their cowardice, followed him, and driving the *Parthians* from the hill, surrounded *Crassus* with their shields, declaring that their general should never be wounded by a *Parthian* arrow, while they were able to defend him.

*Surena* now perceiving that his soldiers grew faint in their attack, and knowing that if the *Romans* continued the battle till night, they

*Cassius*

they might then gain the mountains, had recourse to a stratagem. Some of the prisoners having heard a discourse, that the king was desirous of preparing the way for a reconciliation between him and the *Romans*, by his gentle treatment of *Crassus*, were set free: the Barbarians desisted from fighting, and *Surena* himself going towards the hill, unbent his bow, and holding out his hand to *Crassus*, invited him to come to an agreement; saying, that as he had, contrary to his inclination, given the *Romans* a proof of the king's power, he now offered to give them a proof of his generosity, by entering into an alliance with them. *Crassus* having had sufficient experience of the perfidiousness of the *Parthians*, would have taken time for consideration; but the soldiers, transported with joy, pressed him in a clamorous manner to treat. He endeavoured to prevail on them by his entreaties, persuading them to stay till the evening, when they might reach the rugged parts of the mountains: but beginning to mutiny, they forced him to go. At parting, he turned about, and said, "You *Octavius*, *Petronius*, and the rest of the commanders present, are witness of the violence I suffer: however, when you are in a place of safety, publicly declare, that *Crassus* perished by the subtlety of his enemies, and not by the perfidiousness and treason of his countrymen." *Octavius* and *Petronius* would not suffer him to go down by himself, but accompanied him: he was first

met by  
from the  
respect,  
to send  
*Surena*  
To whi  
least co  
trusted  
sent tw  
they we  
to be se  
ficers of  
near, c  
"foot,  
"ed!"  
for *Crass*  
according  
*Surena* to  
a league  
that *Crass*  
the bank  
added he  
*Crassus* no  
brought  
a gold bi  
ing list  
horse to  
*Crassus* now  
*Petronius*, o  
the comp  
and endea  
rose: *O*  
groom; w  
behind *C*  
me



met by two mongrel *Greeks*, who leaping from their horses, saluted him with profound respect, desiring him in the *Greek* tongue to send some of his retinue before to see that *Surena* and those with him were disarmed. To which *Crassus* answered, that had he the least concern about life, he would not have trusted himself in their hands. He however sent two persons to enquire on what terms they were to treat: but *Surena* ordering them to be seized, advanced with the principal officers of his army, and as soon as he came near, cried. "What, a *Roman* general on foot, while I and my retinue are mounted!" Then ordered a horse to be brought for *Crassus*; but he answering, That each met according to the custom of his own country. *Surena* told him, That from that time there was a league between *Orodes* and the *Romans*, but that *Crassus* must go with him to sign it on the banks of the *Euphrates*: for you, *Romans*, added he, are somewhat forgetful of treaties. *Crassus* now ordered one of his horses to be brought; but *Surena* presented him one with a gold bit, and some of the attendants having lifted him into the saddle, struck the horse to make him quicken his pace. *Octavius* now ran and seized the bridle; and *Petronius*, one of the tribunes, with the rest of the company that attended *Crassus* coming up, and endeavouring to stop the horse, a quarrel arose: *Octavius* drew his sword and killed a groom; when one of the Barbarians coming behind *Octavius* killed him. *Petronius* received

ceived a blow on his breast; however, he leapt from his horse unhurt: but *Crassus* was slain by a Barbarian: some others fell while fighting near *Crassus*, and the rest instantly fled to their comrades on the hill. These were followed by the *Parthians*, who told the *Romans*, that *Crassus* had indeed received the punishment he deserved; but that *Surena* invited the rest to come down from the hill without fear, giving them his word for their safety, on which some of them came down and surrendered; but the rest taking the advantage of the night dispersed. However, few of them escaped, for most of them were the next day put to the sword by the *Arabians*.

The head and hand of *Crassus* were sent to *Orodes*, who was then in *Armenia*. At the same time *Surena* causing a report to be spread that he was bringing *Crassus* alive to *Seleucia*, prepared a burlesque procession, which he named a triumph. Having among his prisoners a *Roman* named *Caius Pacianus*, who much resembled *Crassus*, he instructed him to answer to the name of *Crassus* and Imperator, and set him on horseback. Before him marched a band of trumpeters and lictors bearing the rods and axes, and mounted on camels: purses were hung to the rods, and to the axes were fastened some fresh bleeding heads of the slain. After him came a company of courtezans of *Seleucia*, singing songs on the cowardice and effeminacy of *Crassus*. However, not long after, *Surena* was put to death by *Orodes*, who envied his glory;

M  
that pri  
who wa  
seized w  
given hi  
the pois  
the kin  
strangled

In con  
be allow  
accumula  
we confi  
lowed, th  
*Nicias* em  
of the go  
and game  
bore no  
was at, in  
citizens,  
sufficient  
months.  
that vice i  
consilient,  
wealth by  
useful and  
With re  
lic affairs,  
can be ob  
generally  
varication,  
and enmiti  
der to obta  
fins to affa  
sembly of t

that prince himself, after having lost a son, who was slain in battle by the *Romans*, was seized with a dropsy, when he had aconite given him by *Phraates* his second son; but the poison working only on the disease, and the king beginning to recover, *Phraates* strangled him with his own hand.

In comparing *Crassus* with *Nicias*, it must be allowed, that the wealth of the latter was accumulated by less blameable means; and if we consider their expences, it must be allowed, that there was more elegance in those *Nicias* employed in donations to the temples of the gods, and in exhibiting public shews and games; but even all the wealth of *Nicias* bore no proportion to the expence *Crassus* was at, in first entertaining so many thousand citizens, and afterwards in bestowing corn sufficient for their support during three months. Every one must here be convinced, that vice is in its own nature irregular and inconsistent, on seeing a man who had amassed wealth by the basest means, spend it in so useful and generous a manner.

With respect to their management in public affairs, no craft, injustice, or violence can be objected to *Nicias*; but *Crassus* was generally blamed for his infidelity, his prevarication, and fickleness in his friendship and enmities. He did not deny, that in order to obtain the consulship, he hired assassins to assault *Cato* and *Domitius*. At the assembly of the people for disposing of the provinces,

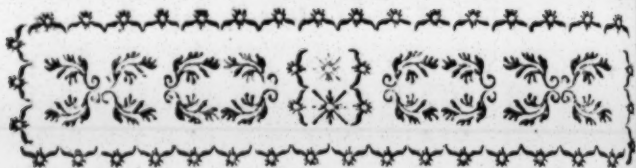
vinces, four were kill'd, and many wounded; besides, he was guilty of an outrage I have not yet mentioned: he struck with his fist *Lucius Analius* a senator, for contradicting him, and drove him bleeding out of the court. On the other hand, *Nicias* was worthy of blame for his pusillanimity and meanness of spirit, which made him submit to and bribe the basest and most profligate of men: but yet it is a strong proof of his integrity, that notwithstanding his constant aversion to war, and his earnestly declining the command, the *Athenians* always pitched upon him as their best and most experienced general. While *Craffus*, though he always longed for the command, never could obtain it, except in the servile and *Parthian* wars. In fine, the *Athenians* sent *Nicias* to the *Sicilian* war against his will; and *Rome*, against her's, was engaged by *Craffus* in the *Parthian* war. *Craffus* was the cause of the calamities that befel the *Romans*; *Athens* was the cause of those that befel *Nicias*.

With respect to their military capacities, *Nicias* had the advantage; he defeated the enemy in several engagements, and was very near taking *Syracuse*; and among the misfortunes, by which he was overwhelm'd, all were not owing to himself; for some were caused by his sickness, and others by the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens. But *Craffus* committed so many faults, that he put himself out of the power of fortune to favour him. They both died unhappily, though one of them

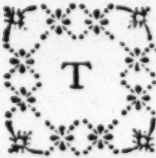
them was ex-  
to divination  
despised it.  
was less bla-  
voluntarily  
bound and  
gave way to  
diers; while  
wretched an  
submitting to  
a life of shar

them was extremely superstitious with respect to divination, while the other neglected and despised it. *Crassus* however, in his death, was less blameable than *Nicias*, he did not voluntarily surrender himself, nor was he bound and treated with ignominy; he only gave way to the pressing instances of the soldiers; while *Nicias* rendered his death more wretched and dishonourable, by voluntarily submitting to his enemies, in hopes of saving a life of shame and ignominy.





T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
Q U I N T U S S E R T O R I U S .

 H E life of *Quintus Sertorius* presents us with the struggles of a brave and virtuous man against the oppressions of fortune. He was inferior to none in prudence, but was excelled by all others in success. This illustrious man was born in the city of *Nursia*, in the country of the *Sabines*, of a reputable family. His father died when he was young, but a tender mother's care supplied his loss; she watched over his education, and he gave her his honour and esteem. He early exercised himself in eloquence, and acquired some reputation in *Rome* by his success. But

Q.  
he soon g  
first served  
*Teutones*  
*Romans* we  
wounded  
thrown fro  
cumstanc  
in his arm  
breast-pla  
of the stre  
Upon a  
grown fo  
while ma  
cient mer  
*rius* bold  
strength a  
end, hav  
tion, and  
he dress  
their troo  
he behel  
both thei  
to *Mariu*  
his disco  
of his i  
rage bec  
his adva  
general  
esteem.  
After  
litary tri  
ral into  
came in  
they we



he soon gave up the bar for the camp, and first served under *Cæpio* when the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* invaded *Gaul*. In this battle the *Romans* were put to flight, and *Sertorius* was wounded in several parts of his body, and thrown from his horse, yet even in these circumstances, he swam across the river *Rhone* in his armour, still keeping his shield and breast-plate, and bearing up against the force of the stream.

Upon a second invasion of the *Cimbri*, now grown formidable from his former victories, while many *Roman* soldiers thought it sufficient merit not to leave their ranks. *Sertorius* boldly resolved to take a view of the strength and situation of the enemy. To this end, having acquired their manner of salutation, and some obvious words in the language, he dressed after their manner, mixed among their troops, and entered their camp. Here he beheld himself, or enquired from others, both their forces and designs, and returning to *Marius* the *Roman* general, communicated his discoveries, and received the recompence of his intrepidity. His conduct and courage becoming every day more conspicuous, his advancement rose in proportion, and the general held him in equal confidence and esteem.

After the *Cimbric* war, he was sent as military tribune under *Didius* the *Roman* general into *Spain*; here the *Roman* soldiers became insolent, from the plenty with which they were surrounded, indulged in every debauch,

debauch, and were almost continually drunk. This induced the inhabitants to strike another blow for their liberties, and sending for assistance by night to the *Gyriscæni*ans, their near neighbours, fell upon the *Romans* in their lodgings, and slew without mercy such as they happened to surprize. In this confusion *Sertorius*, as well as he could, rallied his soldiers without the city, and marching round to the opposite gate, by which the enemy had entered, placed a guard upon it, and making himself master of the whole city, slew all that were able to bear arms. Then commanding his soldiers to lay aside their *Roman* habit and arms to assume that of the Barbarians, he led them to the neighbouring city from whence the succours had come, and finding the gates open, entered with his troops under the mask of friendship. The townsmen being deceived by the sight of their armour and equipage, he fell upon them unprepared to make a defence, took their city, killed some, and made the rest prisoners and slaves.

The diligence of *Sertorius* upon this occasion soon raised him to higher employments, and he was upon his return to *Rome* made quæstor of *Gallia Cisalpina*. In this post he behaved with his usual activity, he raised soldiers, and furnished arms with more than ordinary dispatch. No dignities could abate his vigilance and industry; he never in battle spared himself, but freely exposed his person, performed wonders of valour with his

his own ha  
engagemen  
found no  
mark of n  
sometimes  
their scept  
mour alwa  
who behe  
proof of  
perfectly f  
ple always  
tering the  
more adva  
state could  
he offered  
buneship,  
not merit  
ments, S  
thence fo  
hatred be

This w  
*Marius* a  
self to th  
who was  
store the  
*Marius* h  
an offer o  
soldier:  
the advic  
against i  
form him  
merely in  
*torius* ge  
that parti

his own hands, and lost one of his eyes in an engagement. In this deformity however he found no shame; he considered his loss as a mark of merit, and said, that while others sometimes laid aside their chains of gold, their sceptres and crowns, his ensigns of honour always remained with him; and they who beheld his misfortune, beheld also a proof of his courage. His country seemed perfectly sensible of his desert, and the people always clapped their hands upon his entering the theatre, an honour which men of more advanced age and greater dignity in the state could never arrive at. However, when he offered himself as a candidate for the tribuneship, he was disappointed; faction, and not merit, was what then conferred employments, *Sylla's* party prevailed, and from thence forward there arose an irreconcilable hatred between *Sertorius* and *Sylla*.

This was the time of the disputes between *Marius* and *Sylla*, and *Sertorius* joined himself to the interests of the former. *Cinna*, who was then consul, also attempted to restore the lost fortunes of *Marius*. It seems *Marius* had, about this time, made *Cinna* an offer of serving in his army as a private soldier: upon which offer, the consul asked the advice of *Sertorius*, who instantly declared against it; but tho' *Cinna* continued to inform him that *Marius* had come back to *Italy* merely in pursuance of his instructions, *Sertorius* generously replied, *I was ignorant of that particular, I thought Marius had come into Italy*

*Italy of his own accord, and therefore I advised what I thought would be most proper; but as you have been his inviter, you have not a moment's deliberation whether to accept his offer or not, your promise is given, and that promise must be obeyed.*

Upon this therefore the forces were divided into three parts, under *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Sertorius*, and the war carried on with success. *Cinna* and *Marius* were cruel to the last degree; *Sertorius* never killed any man to satisfy his passion, nor insulted those he overcame; nay, he carried his justice so far, as to destroy the slaves whom *Marius* had made free upon his coming back to *Italy*, and who, in consequence of their freedom, had behaved with ungovernable licence and cruelty.

Upon the death of *Marius*, the affairs of his party wore a very disagreeable aspect: his son had, contrary to the advice of *Sertorius*, usurped the consulship, *Sylla* had corrupted the army in his favour, and treachery or remissness on every side, seemed to forebode the downfall of *Roman* freedom. In this miserable situation of things, *Sertorius* despairing of the safety of *Rome*, made haste into *Spain*, that by taking possession of it before-hand, he might render it a refuge to his friends, and there support his declining party: but even in this, his designs met with some obstructions, the Barbarians on the way frequently stopped him, and demanded tribute, which his followers resented as an insufferable indignity; but the prudent general

slighted

Q  
slighted t  
That time  
who unde  
purchased

Spain w  
dition, a  
pable of  
quently  
usually fe  
tively ave  
This obst  
conversin  
by remitt  
to secure  
ing them  
diers; fo  
up their  
and he hi  
to be rais  
and by a  
and by b  
preparati  
feared, b

Soon th  
that the  
terly de  
rightly ju  
adequate  
him, sen  
guard th  
torius had  
sent thith  
finding  
nable fro

slighted this seeming disgrace, and told them, *That time, the most precious of all things to those who undertake great enterprizes, ought to be purchased at any rate.*

Spain was at this time in a flourishing condition, and abounded with young men capable of bearing arms; but having been frequently oppressed by the *Roman* governors usually sent thither, the inhabitants were entirely averse to the *Romans* of either party. This obstacle however *Sertorius* got over, by conversing freely with the inhabitants, and by remitting their taxes. But what served to secure him in their affections, was his easing them of the trouble of lodging his soldiers; for he commanded his army to take up their winter quarters without the cities, and he himself first caused his own pavillion to be raised in the fields. By these means, and by arming all the *Romans* in this region, and by building ships, with all other warlike preparations, he was at once esteemed and feared, beloved and obeyed.

Soon the news came of *Sylla's* successes, and that the party of *Marius* and *Carbo* were utterly destroyed. *Sertorius* now therefore rightly judging, that some commander, with adequate forces, would be sent to oppose him, sent *Julius Salinator* with 6000 men to guard the *Pyrenean* mountains. What *Sertorius* had expected arrived, *Caius Annius* was sent thither not long after by *Sylla*; and he finding that *Salinator's* camp was impregnable from its situation, sat down at the foot  
of

of the mountain in great perplexity: but one *Calpurnius Lanarius* having treacherously slain *Julius Salinator*, and his forces having quitted their advantageous situation, *Sylla's* general came forward with a great army, and forced his way through all that attempted to obstruct his march. The unfortunate *Sertorius*, not being strong enough to resist him, retreated with 3000 men into *New Carthage*, where he embarked, and crossed over to *Mauritania*, where the natives were ready to oppose him, and cut off many of his men, who happened to separate themselves from the main body.

This new and unexpected misfortune forced him to sail back once more into *Spain*, from whence he was again repulsed; he now therefore had recourse to the *Cilician* pirates, who took him under their protection, and joining forces, they sailed to the island of *Pityusa*, where they overpowered the garrison placed there by *Annius Sylla's* general. This success was but of short continuance; *Annius* soon came to the succour of the island with a numerous fleet and 5000 men. *Sertorius*, now way terrified at his approach, prepared to attack him by sea, though his ships were not made for war but for swift sailing. Fortune that was ever averse, was now particularly so; a violent west wind arose that drove his ships, which were extremely light, upon rocky shores, and being prevented from landing by the enemy, and unable to keep the sea from the storm, he was in this manner for ten days toss'd about

by the every ho difficulty put into in the se again, h to the r mouth o some sea Fortunate description retreats, end the r peace. the *Cilic* bred from war, kne nuance o therefore ed away posed prin to his kin *Sertorius* enemies o

\* The called; the *Atlanti* now belong tellent win from thence They took ary, the m ter may fee by displayed, v



by the boisterous waves, expecting death every hour; but he at last escaped with great difficulty. When the storm was over, he put into uninhabited islands scattered about in the seas, from whence making out to sea again, he passed the Streights, and turning to the right-hand, landed in *Spain* at the mouth of the river *Batis*, here he met with some seamen, who had come from the *Fortunate Islands* \*, who, from the description they gave him of those delicious retreats, almost induced him to go there to end the rest of his days in tranquillity and peace. But this scheme was frustrated by the *Cilician* pyrates his companions, who bred from their infancy in turbulence and war, knew no other pleasure but in a continuance of their former occupation. They therefore immediately forsook him, and sailed away into *Africa* to assist *Ascalis*, the deposed prince of *Mauritania*, and restore him to his kingdom.

*Sertorius* upon this determined to assist the enemies of *Ascalis*, and encouraging his sol-

\* The *Canary* islands were anciently thus called; they are seven in number, and lie in the *Atlantic* ocean on the coast of *Africa*. They now belong to the *Spaniards*, and produce excellent wine, sugar canes, and barley; and from thence the *Canary* birds originally came. They took their present name from *Grand Canary*, the most considerable of them. The reader may see some account of them in *The World displayed*, vol. i. the introduction.

diers, he led his little army into *Mauritania*. Here he lost no time, but giving battle to *Ascalis*, drove him from the field, and besieged him, and soon after defeated the general of *Sylla*, who, with a powerful army, attempted to raise the siege. When he had conquered this army, he prudently joined it to his own, and took the city *Tingis*, where *Ascalis* and his brothers were fled for refuge. Here he behaved as a conqueror, with all the tenderness and humanity for which he had long been remarkable. Though master of the whole country, he did no injury to those who yielded themselves up to his mercy, but restored to them their estates, their cities, laws, and privileges, and was content to accept whatever they were voluntarily pleased to bestow.

In the midst of these successes, the *Lusitanian* ambassadors came to request him to be their general, they knew his merits, and confided in his integrity: for *Sertorius* was of a temper not to be surprized with fear, not to be captivated with pleasure, in dangers undaunted, and never elated in prosperity. He now therefore left *Africa*, and being invested with absolute authority, immediately formed an army, with which he brought the neighbouring parts of *Spain* into subjection; many countries also made a voluntary submission, being charmed by his clemency, or awed by his conduct. To inspire his barbarous army with respect and submission, he kept a white fawn, which he pretended to have received

from *Di-*  
the desig  
the pro  
this pret  
acquired  
lief, for  
*Romans*,  
ed with  
*nia*, to  
and 700  
generals,  
6000 hor  
innumera  
overthrew  
*Romans* n  
*Lucius Ma*  
lieutenant  
sent again  
and destro  
*Metellus* h  
of his tin  
war, but  
by his ac  
*Pompey* an  
was in ye  
great fatig  
remiss, ea  
*torius*, wit  
the flower  
active bod  
all the har  
of fortune  
could pass  
but little,

fro

from *Diana*, and asserted, that it discovered the designs and fortune of his enemies, or of the provinces that intended to revolt. By this pretended supernatural aid, he in reality acquired a degree of strength beyond all belief, for with 2500 men, whom he called *Romans*, joined with 700 *Africans*, who landed with him when he first entered *Lusitania*, together with 4000 *Lusitanian* foot, and 700 horse, he made war with four *Roman* generals, who commanded 120,000 foot, 6000 horse, 2000 archers and slingers, and innumerable cities. With these forces he overthrew *Cotta* in a sea fight; he slew 2000 *Romans* near the river *Bætis*; *Domitius* and *Lucius Manlius* were conquered by one of his lieutenants; he slew *Thoranius*, a commander sent against him by *Metellius* with a great force, and destroyed his whole army; nor was even *Metellius* himself, though the greatest general of his time, a match for him in the art of war, but from being continually harrassed by his active enemy, was obliged to call in *Pompey* and *Lollius* to his assistance. *Metellius* was in years, and having formerly undergone great fatigues, was inclined to lead a more remiss, easy, and voluptuous life: but *Sertorius*, with whom he had to contend, was in the flower of his age, with a strong mind and active body: he had long been accustomed to all the hardships of war, and the vicissitudes of fortune; he was enured to labour; he could pass many nights without sleep; he eat but little, and was satisfied with coarse fare.

He was never guilty of any excess in wine, but his leisure was spent in exercise and riding; thus he knew the situation of the country in which he fought, and could escape from the enemy, or circumvent him at pleasure. Thus *Metellus* suffered all the inconveniencies of a defeat, though without a battle. His active enemy was ever in readiness to cut off his provisions; if the *Roman* army moved forward, he moved; if they pitched their camp, he was ever near to harass and alarm them. If they besieged a town, he was ready to besiege the besiegers, so that the *Romans* would willingly have consented that *Metellus* should accept the invitation of *Sertorius*, who challenged him to single combat; and, when *Metellus* declined the offer, his soldiers reproved him, and treated him both with ridicule and reproach.

It was in this situation of things, that *Metellus* designed to lay siege to the city of *Lagobrites*, which being but ill supplied with water, he hoped in a short time to reduce to a capitulation. But *Sertorius* being apprized of his design, ordered some of the strongest and swiftest of his *Spanish* soldiers through the mountains, with instructions to serve the city with 2000 vessels of water, and to bring off such inhabitants as were most likely to consume the provisions without assisting at the siege. *Metellus* was informed of this, and being greatly disturbed, sent out *Aquilius* with 6000 soldiers to fetch in a fresh supply of provisions; but *Sertorius* having intelligence

of his march, laid an ambush for him, by which he destroyed one part of his army, and took the rest prisoners of war. *Aquilius* with some difficulty escaped to inform *Metellus* of his defeat, who being now exposed to the laughter and contempt of his whole army, was obliged shamefully to abandon the siege.

But *Sertorius* was not more employed in defeating his enemies than in polishing and disciplining his rude and barbarous army. He gave them gold and silver to adorn their armour, he caused their shields to be wrought with proper devices, he taught them to wear embroidered and elegant cloathing; and by furnishing them with money for these purposes, and joining with them in the same emulation, he won their affections, and increased his authority. To compleat his influence over them, he sent for the sons of the nobility, and appointing them proper masters, had them instructed in all the *Greek* and *Roman* learning; for this he paid proper salaries to their instructors, examined them often himself; and while he pleased their parents by his seeming care, thus kept them as actual hostages for their fathers fidelity. Such therefore was their regard for his person, that many thousands devoted themselves to his service, and vowed to sacrifice their lives with his when he fell.

*Sertorius* hitherto found the rewards of his prudence and care, and his army soon received a new reinforcement; *Perpenna Vento*,

who was of the same party with *Sertorius*, coming with fifty-three cohorts into *Spain*, his army refused to obey any other general than *Sertorius*, considering him as the only person capable of defending them against *Pompey*, who had passed the *Pyrenean* mountains to hasten the entire conquest of *Spain*. *Sertorius* now therefore saw himself at the head of a numerous army, which flocked to him from all quarters; but he found them eager, rash, and undisciplined; he therefore often permitted the most forward to engage the enemy at a disadvantage, and when he found them almost overpowered, he would come in to their rescue, and so bring them in safety back to his camp.

But to give them the strongest lesson of patience and perseverance, he one day assembled the whole army, and then caused two horses to be brought before them, the one old, feeble, and lean, the other large, sleek, and vigorous. Near to the lean horse he placed a strong, tall man, and near to the strong horse, a little man of a poor despicable figure; he then gave orders that each should pull off the horse's tail next him: the strong man took hold of the weak horse's tail with both his hands, as if willing to pull it off by force at once; the little man, in the mean time, began to pluck off the great horse's tail hair by hair. When the strong man had, for some time, fruitlessly endeavoured to effect his purpose, to the amusement of the spectators, he desisted: the little man however, in

a short

a short  
hair from  
soldiers,  
more effic  
and wait  
powers n  
the teme  
prudence

Howev  
none acqu  
than his  
ricitani,  
nable mo  
on its si  
ed towar  
was dry  
t-odden li  
first saw  
them with  
of. their f  
neral taki  
dust, and  
ordered the  
quantities  
ing this to  
them, laug  
impractical  
however, t  
and the sol  
dust of this  
sible, while  
through it  
veyed into  
for fear of



a short time, with great ease, pulled off every hair from the great horse's tail. *My fellow soldiers*, then cried *Sertorius*, *perseverance is more efficacious than force; let us use judgment, and wait for opportunities, and the greatest powers must yield to us*. He thus restrained the temerity of the Barbarians, and joined prudence to their natural ferocity.

However, of all his stratagems in war, none acquired him a more just reputation, than his conquest of a people called the *Charicitani*, who inhabited an high and impregnable mountain, and lived in dens and caves on its side, the mouths of which all opened towards the north. The soil below was dry and chalky, and flew about when trodden like ashes. When the inhabitants first saw the army of *Sertorius*, they treated them with contempt, relying on the security of their situation: but this consummate general taking notice that the wind raised the dust, and carried it up towards the caves, he ordered their light soil to be piled up in large quantities: the deluded inhabitants imagining this to be only a fort raised up against them, laughed at it at first as a fruitless and impracticable design. The next morning, however, the northern winds began to rise, and the soldiers being ordered to stir up the dust of this new raised heap as much as possible, whilst others on horseback were to ride through it; such clouds of dust were conveyed into the caves of the inhabitants, that for fear of suffocation, they surrendered on the

the third day, being incapable of making a longer resistance.

His successes against *Metellus* were already known to the world; but he now had *Pompey* to contend with, a youthful, victorious, and experienced general, who had already acquired the surname of Great. On this occasion, the proofs of generalship given on either side were very great; but when it was found in *Rome* that *Sertorius* had the advantage, he was celebrated as the most consummate commander of his time.

Soon after *Pompey's* coming to command against him, *Sertorius* laid siege to the city of *Lauro*, and there being a hill very near the city, both made haste to seize it; but *Sertorius* anticipated his rival: wherefore *Pompey*, imagining that he had hereby inclosed the enemy between his own army and the city, sent a messenger to encourage the citizens, and to inform them, that the enemy who besieged them was himself also besieged. *Sertorius* perceiving their designs, smiled and said, he would now shew *Sylla's* pupil (for so he used to call *Pompey* in derision) that a good general ought to look behind him as well as before; and at the same time gave the besieged an opportunity of observing 6000 soldiers which still occupied his former camp, and were prepared to fall upon *Pompey's* rear should he undertake to interrupt the siege; wherefore the town surrendered itself to the clemency of *Sertorius*, who spared their lives, and granted them freedom, but burnt their city, with an intent thus to give a greater

splendor

splendor  
grace.

Thus  
ever he  
ever he  
others co  
battle of  
began, w  
*torius* hap  
*franius*, v  
*Roman* ar  
before h  
flew to o  
were flyin  
he renew  
brought  
life. In  
out an eq  
him; pur  
and bega  
defeat of  
returning  
and pursu  
The next  
perceiving  
of *Metellu*  
cosefly tel  
woman b  
whipped t

He was  
for his wh  
time whe  
keep his  
soldiers, v

splendor to his own success and *Pompey's* disgrace.

Thus he continued still victorious whenever he commanded in person, and whenever he sustained a loss, it was only when others commanded in his absence. In the battle of *Suero* against *Pompey*, when the fight began, which was not till the evening, *Sertorius* happened to be stationed opposite *Afranius*, who commanded the left wing of the Roman army. *Pompey* however carrying all before him on the enemy's right, *Sertorius* flew to oppose him, when rallying those that were flying, and encouraging those that stood, he renewed the fight, routed the enemy, and brought *Pompey* into eminent hazard of his life. In the mean time *Afranius*, now without an equal opponent, overthrew all before him; pursued the *Lusitanians* to their camp, and began, without knowing anything of the defeat of *Pompey*, to pillage; but *Sertorius* returning victorious, attacked the plunderers, and pursued them with very great slaughter. The next morning he again offered battle, but perceiving the enemy reinforced by the army of *Metellus*, he declined the engagement, jocosely telling his soldiers, *That if that old woman had not been there, he would have whipped the boy, and sent him back to Rome.*

He was at this time under great uneasiness for his white hind, that had left him at a time when he wanted every inducement to keep his army together; but luckily some soldiers, wandering in the night, chanced to mee

meet her, and brought her back ; he was highly pleased upon this occasion, and rewarding with generous presents those that found her, enjoined them silence. He appeared in public a few days after, and declared in presence of the Barbarian commanders, that some unusual good impended over him ; he had scarce spoken, when his hind, which had been supposed to be lost, came bounding towards him, and laid her head on his lap ; he seemed overjoyed at this return of his favourite counsellor : the spectators all followed him with exultation, and assumed unusual confidence, from what they looked upon as a celestial omen of future success.

When the enemy were reduced at length to the utmost extremity, *Sertorius*, in order to prevent their ravaging the country, was obliged to give them battle in the plains of *Saguntum*. Both sides fought with uncommon vigour ; and *Memmius*, the second in command to *Pompey*, was slain : *Metellus*, the Roman general, was also wounded ; but victory, which had at first inclined to the *Spaniards*, at last declared in favour of the *Romans* ; yet still *Sertorius* was employed in securing his forces a proper retreat, and brought his army into a strong city in the mountains, where, pretending to dread the enemy, he set about repairing the walls, and fortifying the gates. The *Romans* thus deluded, came and sat down before the town, hoping to take it without long resistance ;

ance ; in  
opportunit  
collecting  
*Sertorius* wa  
forced hi  
with ease  
ing thus  
field, he  
by land  
length ob  
into Gaul  
*Vaccæans*,  
ter wrote  
while *Met*  
*Sertorius*.

Our h  
years bra  
commonw  
hopes of  
dom. Al  
and came  
to settle in  
the Roman  
them he  
attempted  
er, than to  
the number  
his count  
fied a de  
thought t  
whom he  
strongest  
and *Pompe*  
ries, that

ance; in the mean time the *Spaniards* had an opportunity of escaping the pursuit, and collecting themselves; of which, when *Sertorius* was informed, he sallied out, and forced his way through his enemies, and with ease joined the rest of his army. Being thus once more enabled to keep the field, he harraßed the enemy as usual, both by land and sea, till the generals were at length obliged to separate, *Metellus* departing into *Gaul*, and *Pompey* wintering among the *Vaccæans*, in a wretched condition. The latter wrote to the senate for fresh supplies, while *Metellus* offered a reward for destroying *Sertorius*.

Our hardy general had now for several years braved all the efforts of the *Roman* commonwealth, and seemed to entertain hopes of once more re-establishing its freedom. All the senators who fled from *Rome*, and came to reside with him, he attempted to settle in their former dignity, according to the *Roman* laws and constitutions. Out of them he chose the usual officers of state, and attempted rather to encrease the *Roman* power, than to disunite the kingdom of *Spain* from the number of its acquisitions. He still loved his country, and upon every occasion testified a desire of returning home; it was thought that his longing to see his mother, whom he tenderly loved, was one of his strongest motives. He sent word to *Metellus* and *Pompey*, in the very height of his victories, that he was ready to lay down his arms,

arms, and live in privacy at home, if permitted to do it with safety, alledging that he had rather be the meanest citizen of *Rome*, than a monarch in any other part of the world. These wishes, however, he was not permitted to enjoy, and he had the misfortune to be informed of the death of his mother, while he yet entertained them. This stroke seemed too much for his tender disposition to bear, he lay seven days together, without giving his soldiers the word, and it was with much sollicitation, that he was once more induced to reassume the command of the army.

About this time *Mithridates*, king of *Pontus*, was once more making head against the *Roman* power, and sent letters to *Sertorius*, in which he offered to support him with money and shipping, provided he would secure to him the possession of all he had surrendered to the *Romans*, in his treaty with *Sylla*. But these offers the *Roman* refused, but sent him soldiers, and a general for his armies, and *Mithridates* in return supplied him with 3000 talents, and forty ships.

The success and victories of the army of *Sertorius* in *Spain*, however, only served to excite the envy and jealousy of his generals. Of this number was *Perpenna*, a man vain, insolent, and ambitious. He began to sow dissension, by representing amongst his intimate friends, that *Sertorius* gave the *Spaniards* as much favour as them, and that tho' he pretended to treat them as equals, they were in reality become the contemptible guards

of one  
these di  
fection,  
was by a  
ing sever  
raising e  
blame of  
general  
themselve  
to revolt,  
an altera  
*Sertorius*,  
kept as h  
sold other

In the  
ed the nur  
ed a messe  
*Sertorius*, i  
tory by on  
seemed gr  
while he w  
prevailed u  
banquet p  
tent. No  
than *Sertor*  
sent, great  
He could no  
ality or in  
ful, and his  
ertainment,  
ersation ver  
is presence  
ho only wa  
drunkenn  
Vol. V.



of one who was himself a vagabond. By these discourses he won over many to disaffection, and their first step to hurt *Sertorius*, was by abusing their own authority, by inflicting severe punishments upon the *Lusitanians*, by raising exorbitant taxes, and then laying the blame of all those vile proceedings upon the general himself. The *Spaniards* finding themselves thus harshly used, were prompted to revolt, and their frequent defections made an alteration in the former clemency of *Sertorius*, for of their children whom he kept as hostages, some he put to death, and sold others.

In the mean time *Perpenna* having increased the number of conspirators, they provided a messenger who brought feigned letters to *Sertorius*, informing him of a pretended victory by one of his lieutenants. The general seemed greatly rejoiced at the news, and while he was sacrificing to the gods, he was prevailed upon by *Perpenna*, to partake of a banquet prepared upon the occasion, at his tent. No man was ever more abstemious than *Sertorius*; and wherever he was present, great order and decency were observed. He could not endure to hear the least immorality or indecency; his freedom was cheerful, and his pleasantries inoffensive. At this entertainment, however, he perceived the conversation very different from what he thought his presence could inspire. The conspirators who only wanted to provoke him, pretended drunkenness, and behaved with the utmost

most obscenity and insolence. *Sertorius* being either displeased with their rudeness, or suspecting their disrespect, reclined back upon his couch, as if he neither heard nor regarded them. Upon this *Perpenna* letting fall a cup of wine with some noise, which was the signal agreed upon, *Antonius*, one of the conspirators, first wounded the general with a sword, and then throwing himself upon his breast, held him down till the rest of the conspirators dispatched him.

The *Spaniards* were struck with the first news of his death, and sending ambassadors to *Pompey*, immediately submitted to the power of the *Romans*. *Perpenna*, the principal conspirator, still attempted to head his party, but he was soon overthrown, and taken prisoner. The same vices that actuated this wretch to commit his former crime, now made him offer to betray his associates, and putting into the hands of *Pompey* all the papers which were written by the opposite faction at home to *Sertorius*, expected his life for his treachery. But upon this occasion *Pompey* behaved with the utmost prudence; he refused to read these informations; but piling them up together in a public place, he burned them all, and then ordered *Perpenna* to be immediately put to death. Of the other conspirators some were slain by *Pompey*, others escaped among the *Moors*, who slew them with their darts and in a short time not one was left alive except *Aufidius*, who hiding himself in an obscure village in *Spain*, ended his days in poverty, remorse, and contempt.


E

E

*Eumenes*  
Great as  
the warm  
appointed  
of forces  
the adva  
his post  
sister of  
which v  
mark of



T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
E U M E N E S.

 *EUMENES* was taken into the service of *Philip*, from the friendship this monarch had for his father, whose guest he had formerly been. After the death of *Philip*, *Eumenes* was employed by *Alexander* the Great as his secretary, and honoured with the warmest friendship and esteem. He was appointed commander of a considerable body of forces in the *Indian* expedition, and upon the advancement of *Perdiccas* succeeded to his post: and *Alexander* even gave him the sister of one of his mistresses in marriage, which was reckoned at that time no small mark of favour.

But his boldness and sincerity often brought on him his master's displeasure. Being one day informed, that *Hephæstion* had given the quarters assigned to his servants to one *Enius* a musician, in a rage went to *Alexander*, and upbraided him with permitting his soldiers to be degraded, and musicians and players to share his favour. The king at first was not displeased with his sincerity, but on recollection condemned his boldness, and considered it as an affront.

Another time, when *Nearchus* was to be sent with a fleet, upon an expedition that required expence, *Alexander's* own finances being exhausted, he was obliged to have recourse to his generals, and asked to borrow 300 talents from *Eumenes*; *Eumenes* however only sent an hundred, pretending that this was all he could raise. The money *Alexander* rejected, and gave private orders for burning his tent, whereby he detested his avarice; for there were not less than 1000 talents found melted down by the fire. The generous monarch however took none of it; and as for the papers which were consumed, he took care to have others supplied.

Notwithstanding these slight disgraces, *Eumenes* still continued in favour till the death of *Hephæstion*, which happened soon after. And now the grief of *Alexander* for the death of his best loved friend, was vented in reproaches to all who had been his enemies while living. Among others, *Eumenes* shared his resentment; but he being a man of great address,

address,  
ostentat  
honour  
and sug  
scently  
his usua  
esteem.

After  
of *Eum*  
putes of  
as if he  
was a st  
rels. V  
mutiny,  
accomm  
officers  
ceased  
made g  
and all  
*Trapezu*  
a large  
sion of.

*Antig*  
haughty  
*natus* wi  
gia, to  
yet, at  
neral tur  
ed expect  
to reliev  
in the c  
*Antipater*  
*natus* wa  
to seize

address, converted *Alexander's* sorrow into ostentation, and by contributing himself to honour the memory of the deceased favourite, and suggesting different methods of magnificently adorning his monument, still held his usual share of the king's confidence and esteem.

After the death of *Alexander*, the prudence of *Eumenes* was still conspicuous; in the disputes of the *Macedonians* he remained neuter, as if he thought it unbecoming in him, who was a stranger, to interpose in domestic quarrels. When the soldiers were disposed to mutiny, he induced them to hearken to an accommodation, and was at last one of those officers who shared the conquests of the deceased monarch between them. He was made governor of *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and all the coast of the *Pontic* sea, as far as *Trapezus*, which *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, with a large army, were to put him in possession of.

*Antigonus* however, who was now grown haughty, neglected to assist him; but *Leonatus* with his army came down into *Phrygia*, to secure him the allotted kingdom; yet, at the instigation of *Hecataeus*, this general turned away his forces from the intended expedition, in order, as was given out, to relieve the *Macedonians*, who were besieged in the city of *Lamia*, under the command of *Antipater*. The real design however of *Leonatus* was not to relieve the *Macedonians*, but to seize their kingdom, and this in confidence

he imparted to *Eumenes*, shewing him letters from *Cleopatra*, wherein she invited him to *Pella*, and promised to receive him as her lord. This discovery had not the intended effect upon *Eumenes*; for whether fearing *Antipater*, or having no opinion of the abilities of *Leonatus*, he stole away from his camp by night, carrying off his whole equipage, consisting of 300 horse, and 200 domestics well armed, with 5000 talents in money. With these he made the best of his way to *Perdiccas*, to whom he discovered the intentions of *Leonatus*, and received the thanks and confidence of that general.

For these services, *Perdiccas* in person soon after led a powerful army into *Cappadocia*, which was the government allotted to *Eumenes* at the death of *Alexander*; and having taken *Ariarathes*, its former king, prisoner, and subdued the whole country, *Eumenes* was declared governor of it.

*Eumenes* having now appointed the principal officers of state, was willing to attend at the court of *Perdiccas*, at once to shew his gratitude and subjection; but that general refused this offer, justly supposing that his presence would be necessary to govern the provinces left behind, and to restrain the misconduct of *Neoptolemus*, an arrogant man, who governed *Armenia*, a kingdom bordering upon the country of *Cappadocia*.

The first business *Eumenes* did upon entering his government, was to check the insolence and power of the *Macedonian* phalanx.

To

To this  
cient to  
nians w  
perior  
time.  
vantage  
tipater,  
mies to  
ing subd  
in order  
the dom  
stances,  
march a  
mander  
and Cap  
ever, wh  
him, ref  
menes, Al  
Neoptolem  
sent for,  
*Eumenes* h  
army, an  
under hin  
the sollic  
*Antipater*,  
reconciled  
treated hi  
resolved t  
last, and r  
At the  
back to  
quainted h  
tle, and r  
clare himf



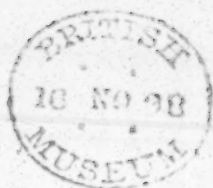
To this end he raised a body of horse sufficient to keep them in awe; and the *Macedonians* were soon astonished to see a body superior to their own collected in so short a time. And not long after he found the advantage of his foresight: *Craterus* and *Antipater*, two of *Alexander's* generals, and enemies to *Perdiccas*, the friend of *Eumenes*, having subdued *Greece*, were advancing into *Asia*, in order to become masters of it, as well as of the dominions in *Europe*. In these circumstances, *Perdiccas* being himself obliged to march against *Ptolemy*, made *Eumenes* commander in chief of all his forces in *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*. The two generals however, whom he appointed to serve under him, refused to obey the commands of *Eumenes*, *Alces* absolutely refused to serve, and *Neoptolemus*, who was the other, upon being sent for, put himself in a posture of defence. *Eumenes* however soon reduced the refractory army, and forced them by an oath to serve under him: at the same time also he refused the solicitations and extraordinary offers of *Antipater*, observing, that he could not be reconciled to a person whom he always found treated his friends as enemies, and that he was resolved to assist the injured *Perdiccas* to the last, and rather die than break his promise.

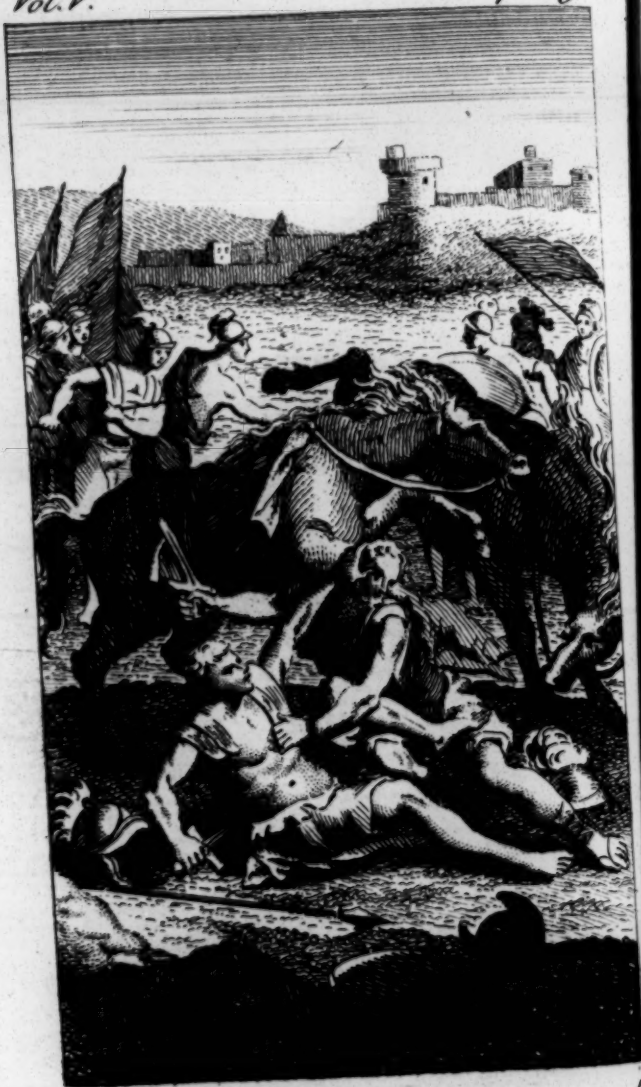
At the same time this message was carried back to *Antipater*, *Neoptolemus* arriving, acquainted him with the ill success of the battle, and requested that *Craterus* should declare himself against *Eumenes*, which would induce

induce the *Macedonians* to leave him, as the soldiers to a man loved *Craterus*, who had ever been their defender and friend. *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* therefore marched against the army of *Eumenes*, and *Antipater* led his forces into *Cilicia*.

At this time it was hoped that the army of *Eumenes*, elated by their victory, would be found off their guard; but in this the generals only deceived themselves. *Eumenes* was ever vigilant; but he shewed a degree of address upon this occasion peculiar to himself alone. Conscious of the popularity of *Craterus* among the *Macedonian* soldiery, he gave out that *Neoptolemus* and *Pigris*, with some *Cappadocian* and *Paphlagonian* horse were coming against him. He was at first strongly tempted to let the captains under him into the secret of their real enemies; but upon recollection holding to his first resolution, he depended only on his own sagacity for victory. When he came to engage, he would trust none of the *Macedonians* against *Craterus*, but commanded two troops of foreign horse to charge the enemy as soon as ever they came in sight, without giving them leisure to speak, or retire, or even to receive the least message from them. He himself, with 300 horse, commanded the right wing against *Neoptolemus*; and the enemy appearing, the engagement commenced with the greatest fury. *Craterus*, who had been taught to expect that the *Macedonians* would revolt, rode forward to the attack, in which he fought  
with

the  
had  
ra-  
inf  
his  
  
of  
be  
ne-  
was  
ad-  
self  
ra-  
ave  
ome  
vere  
ngly  
into  
pon  
he  
vic-  
ould  
erus,  
orfe  
came  
to  
least  
300  
ainst  
the  
eatest  
o ex-  
rode  
ught  
with





*The Battle between EUMENES and  
NEOPTOLEMUS*

E  
with the u  
enemy, an  
check his  
received a  
and fell fr  
ground cov  
batants wit  
but *Gorgias*  
recollected  
horse, gua  
piring. In  
*Eumenes*, l  
fought each  
fight. At  
drawing th  
tacked eac  
breast to  
reins, gras  
pull off the  
loosen his  
thus emplo  
them, and  
both still k  
with each  
rise first, *E*  
and got on  
ever *Neoptol*  
without bei  
ill at last r  
ropt; his  
upon him,  
mour, and  
warrior per

with the utmost bravery, slew several of the enemy, and repulsed many that attempted to check his progress: at last, however, he received a wound in his side from a *Thracian*, and fell from his horse. When lying on the ground covered with blood, many of the combatants without knowing him went over him; but *Gorgias*, a soldier belonging to *Eumenes*, recollected his face, and alighting from his horse, guarded the body, now almost expiring. In the mean time *Neoptolemus* and *Eumenes*, both long and deadly enemies, sought each other through the thickest of the fight. At the third charge they met, and drawing their swords with loud shouts, attacked each other. Their horses struck breast to breast; the riders quitting the reins, grasped each other, each striving to pull off the helmet from his enemy, and to loosen his breast-plate. While they were thus employed, their horses went from under them, and both fell together on the ground, both still keeping their grasp, and struggling with each other. *Neoptolemus* beginning to rise first, *Eumenes* wounded him in the ham, and got on his feet before him. Still however *Neoptolemus* fought upon one knee, but without being able to give any deadly wound, till at last receiving a wound in his neck, he dropt; his implacable enemy now again fell upon him, and began to strip him of his armour, and to revile him, which the dying warrior perceiving, slightly wounded him with

with his sword in the groin as he lay upon him, and then expired.

*Eumenes*, though covered with wounds, once more got on horseback, and rode towards the left wing of his army, where hearing of the death of *Craterus*, he went up to the place where he lay, and finding him still, though but just alive, he alighted from his horse, he shed tears, and giving him the hand of friendship, recalled their former affection and intimacy.

Had *Perdiccas*, for whom he gained this victory, had timely notice of his success, he might have risen to the summit of his ambition; but he was slain in a mutiny in *Egypt* two days before the news arrived, and *Eumenes* was now left singly to maintain the cause against *Antigonus* and *Antipater*, whom the *Macedonians* appointed to the command. *Eumenes* therefore intended the plains of *Lydia* for the engagement; his strength consisted in cavalry: but being dissuaded from this he marched into the upper *Phrygia*, and wintered at *Celœna*. There some inferior commanders disputed with him who should be general; he made the following observation, that every man thinks of his own private advancement, but none of the danger, which by this means he himself and all his army must incur.

About this time the soldiers began to grow mutinous for want of pay, and *Eumenes* to satisfy them gave them leave to plunder the country, which again procured him the love of his refractory forces. But fortune

last seen  
him, by  
he lost  
*Cappadocia*  
for his  
whom he  
with the  
his pursuit  
field of  
bodies of  
sepulture  
it happened  
taking the  
possessing  
was collected  
tions; but  
himself was  
tard his  
temptation  
duce his  
gave the  
curity in  
baggage  
It is said,  
and some  
*menes*, this  
but his own  
he was lost  
he designed  
perceiving  
wandered  
followers,  
head, and  
ing arrived



last seemed to grow weary of befriending him, by the treachery of one of his officers he lost the field to *Antigonus*, at *Orcyni* in *Cappadocia*; and the only reparation he had for his defeat, was the life of the traytor, whom he caused to be hanged; then flying with the remains of his army, he so deceived his pursuers, that he slipped round to the field of battle, and gathering up the dead bodies of his soldiers, gave them the rites of sepulture. After this continuing his flight, it happened that he had an opportunity of taking the baggage of the enemy; and of possessing himself of all that wealth which was collected from the spoils of various nations; but he prudently declined loading himself with plunder, which might only retard his flight; but considering that the temptation of plunder would certainly induce his army to disobey his command, he gave the enemy private notice of their insecurity in this respect, by which means the baggage was brought into a place of safety. It is said, when this was reported to *Antigonus*, and some commended the good-nature of *Eumenes*, this general replied; Not our army, but his own, was the object of his concern; he was loth to wear so many shackles when he designed to fly. From this time *Eumenes* perceiving himself unable to face the enemy, wandered about, and disbanded many of his followers, they being too few to make an head, and too many to fly undiscovered. Being arrived at the citadel of *Nora*, with 500 horie

horse and 200 foot, he again dismissed such of his followers as were willing to go, and waited there for *Antigonus*, who came to besiege the place soon after. Before *Antigonus* began the siege, he desired to have a conference with *Eumenes*; but this the latter refused; alledging, that *Antigonus* had many friends to supply his place, in case any accident should befall him, but that he had none to substitute in his room, among those whose defence he had undertaken: wherefore, previous to any interview, he insisted, that hostages should be first sent. *Antigonus* insisted, that the first approaches to a reconciliation were to be made to him, as being the greater man; to which *Eumenes* replied, that while he was able to wield a sword, he knew of no man greater than himself. At length an hostage being delivered on the side of *Antigonus*, *Eumenes* came out of the fort, and the two generals meeting, embraced with much civility and friendship, recalling to mind their former intimacy. Thro' the whole conference, the spirit and intrepidity of *Eumenes* was conspicuous, while the *Macedonians* flocked round to gratify their curiosity with the sight of a man, who next to *Craterus* who was slain, was most revered by the soldiery. This conference however ended without any effect, and *Antigonus* sent *Eumenes* back to the fort in safety.

The fort was well supplied with corn, salt, and water, but in want of all other provisions; *Eumenes*, however, with the ut-

most

most che  
his table  
countena  
had not  
soldier w  
on was de  
son was f  
metry an  
very veh  
persuasive.

The di  
consisted i  
horses beg  
to avoid t  
ed them  
stables by  
them up  
be plied by  
plunging  
all the ben  
ment.

The sieg  
willing to  
rate, offer  
sent the fo  
taken on l  
the manne  
or two al  
d of by t  
nd the sie  
turned all  
ange hors  
et still bein  
g an alte

Vol. V.

most cheerfulness, still invited his friends to his table, and kept up their spirits with a countenance no way altered by distress. He had nothing of the appearance of a rough soldier worn out with labour, his complexion was delicate and blooming, and his person was formed with the most exquisite symmetry and grace. His eloquence was not very vehement, but his manner was mild and persuasive.

The distress of the besieged principally consisted in their want of room, and the horses began to stiffen for want of exercise; to avoid this inconvenience, *Eumenes* ordered them to be tied to the roof of the stables by means of a pulley, which raised them up before, and then ordered them to be plied by the grooms with whips, so that plunging behind and before, they acquired all the benefits of labour, even in confinement.

The siege continuing, and *Antigonus* being willing to make *Eumenes* his friend, at any rate, offered him terms of capitulation, and sent the form of an oath which was to be taken on both sides. *Eumenes* objected to the manner of wording it; but after one or two alterations, which were approved of by the *Macedonians*, he was sworn, and the siege was raised. *Eumenes* then returned all his hostages, and received in exchange horses, tents, and beasts of carriage: yet still being jealous of *Antigonus*, and fearing an alteration in his disposition, he retired

tired with all speed, having got together a body of near a thousand horse from the scattered remains of his former army.

While *Eumenes* continued thus to fly, he received invitations from many of the most considerable persons in *Macedonia*, and among the rest, *Olympias* invited him to come and check the growing power of *Antigonus*; he was also invited by *Polyperchon* to head the troops of *Cappadocia*, and granted 500 talents out of the royal treasury, and *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, the chief officers of the *Argyraspides* were invited to assist him in the prosecution of his designs. These two officers seemed outwardly pleased at being put under the command of *Eumenes*, but in reality envied his glory, and were affronted at his superiority. They were themselves unfit to command, and yet they disdained to obey. *Eumenes* had recourse therefore to superstition to influence their obedience, and pretended that *Alexander* had shewn him in a dream a regal pavilion, and told him that he would be present at their councils, and prosper their designs, if undertaken in his name. This was readily believed by his credulous assistants; wherefore a royal tent was erected, and all affairs of moment carried on in *Alexander's* name.

Thus proceeding onward, they were joined by the forces of *Peucestas*, a friend of *Eumenes*, and by some other governors of the provinces: but while they increased in number, they increased also in licentiousness

and the  
themselves  
offices  
bery.  
command  
they de  
they onl  
life a f  
thought  
in their  
of more  
from tho  
sion. T  
found th  
whose lif

The af  
no dange  
of real g  
near with  
to threate  
*Eumenes* as  
a body of  
attempted  
slew 4000  
confined to  
refused to  
peared to  
brought to  
litter to th  
the curtains  
held his han  
*cedonians* no  
their shields  
challenged

and the soldiers seemed at last to have erected themselves into a tumultuous assembly, where offices were to be obtained by cabal and bribery. *Eumenes* perceiving how little the commanders were obeyed, and how much they despised each other, and knowing they only wanted an opportunity to make his life a sacrifice to their brutal insolence, he thought of an expedient to keep them steady in their duty. He pretended to be in want of money, and took care to borrow most from those for whom he had the greatest aversion. Thus from motives of interest, they found themselves obliged to guard a man on whose life their fortunes solely depended.

The assistants of *Eumenes*, when there was no danger, appeared with all the splendor of real generals; but when *Antigonus* drew near with a large army, and danger began to threaten, then all turned their eyes on *Eumenes* as their only protector. He defeated a body of the troops of *Antigonus*, as they attempted to pass the river *Pasitigris*, and slew 4000 of them, and afterwards, when confined to his bed by sickness, the soldiers refused to face the enemy, till *Eumenes* appeared to lead them. News of this being brought to *Eumenes*, he was carried in his litter to the head of the army, and opening the curtains, he assumed a chearful air, and held his hand out to the soldiers. The *Macedonians* no sooner saw this, than striking their shields, and giving a great shout, they challenged the enemy to approach. But *Antigonus*,

*Antigonus*, who had been informed of the sickness of *Eumenes*, now perceiving the litter carried from rank to rank, could not avoid laughing at the sight, adding, that litter alone is too many for us; and thus saying, he sounded a retreat.

The *Macedonians* were scarce relieved from their fears, than they again renewed their former licentious behaviour; they dispersed themselves without discipline in their winter quarters, and one part of the army was several miles distant from the other. *Antigonus*, still vigilant and active, being informed of their situation, was resolved to surprize them; but being obliged to pass through an uninhabited country, still rendered more incommodious by boisterous winds and severe frosts, his men were hardly capable of supporting the march. The only relief he had in this exigence, was to make large fires, which apprized the *Macedonians* of his approach. Upon the first notice which this riotous army received of the march of *Antigonus*, they were resolved to fly; but *Eumenes* prevented their timidity, by undertaking without a blow, to stop the enemies career: for this purpose, he himself, with some of the officers, rode out, and made choice of an eminence on the confines of the desert, which was full in view of *Antigonus's* army. Here he commanded several fires to be lighted up at proper intervals, which *Antigonus* supposing to be a real camp, turned round, and took a longer way to enter the country to which

was bent  
he had be  
not a lit  
resolved  
tered fore  
were by t  
times of  
command  
the *Argyr*  
nation at  
and form  
Consideri  
war, it w  
use of his  
gence, an  
this base  
gence, an  
sembled a  
public sp  
of one, h  
another.  
stroying a  
tions, he a  
and encou  
*pides*, who  
none of wh  
of them se  
out, as the  
*Villains*, y  
as usual, p  
and confu  
routed on t  
had the adv  
*Pencestas*,  
W



was bent. Soon however he perceived that he had been outwitted by *Eumenes*, and being not a little displeased at his own credulity, resolved to give *Eumenes* battle. The scattered forces of the opposite army however, were by this time got together, and as usual in times of danger, *Eumenes* was declared sole commander. *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, leaders of the *Argyraspides*, conceived their usual indignation at having him thus raised above them, and formed a conspiracy against his life. Considering however his great experience in war, it was unanimously resolved to make use of him as a leader upon the present exigence, and kill him immediately after. Of this base design *Eumenes* had private intelligence, and told his friends, that he now resembled a man exposed to wild beasts as a public spectacle, should he escape the jaws of one, he was sure of being devoured by another. He then made his will, and destroying all his letters after various resolutions, he at last drew up the order of battle, and encouraged the soldiers. The *Argyraspides*, who had ever been unconquered, and none of whom was less than sixty, and many of them seventy, began the onset, and cried out, as they charged the soldiers of *Antigonus*, Villains, you fight against your fathers! and, as usual, put all before them into disorder and confusion. But though *Antigonus* was routed on this side, on the other his cavalry had the advantage, through the cowardice of *Pencestas*, and fell upon the baggage of the

*Macedonians*, of which they easily became masters.

After each side had withdrawn from the field, *Teutamus* sent a message to *Antigonus* to demand the baggage; to which the other replied, that he would not only restore the baggage to the *Argyraspides*, but give them his friendship and interest if they would surrender *Eumenes*. His proposal had the desired effect: the *Argyraspides* formed the horrid resolution of delivering up their general; and coming to wait upon him under the colour of friendship, all fell upon him, and seizing his sword, tied his hands behind him with his own girdle. *Eumenes* in this condition prevailed upon the person who was sent to conduct him to *Antigonus*, to allow him the liberty of addressing his false soldiers; and standing upon a rising ground, upbraided them in this manner: "What greater monument of victory, ye base men, could *Antigonus* have desired, than thus to have your general delivered a captive into his hands. You were conquerors, and yet for the loss of your baggage, were mean enough to own yourselves conquered. Be slaves: as for me, I am yet unconquered, I have vanquished the enemy, and am betrayed by my fellow soldiers. Yet let me adjure you, by *Jupiter*, the protector of armies, and the avenger of injury, to kill me with your own hands; for whether I fall by you, or by *Antigonus*, you only are culpable, *Antigonus* will not

"complain

"com  
"but  
"that  
"of m  
"be a  
"you  
"me b  
"will  
"justic  
army in  
loudly e  
was not  
forward  
fortunat  
camp,  
friendshi  
ordered  
phant o  
moved v  
heaviest  
to anoin  
His frien  
and to su  
*Antigonus*  
manner  
listened t  
his life,  
who advi  
of suspenc  
why he w  
to which  
"field ha  
"have f  
"And in

“complain, he desires *Eumenes*, not living  
 “but dead; yet, if you refuse to give me  
 “that small assistance, at least unbind one  
 “of my hands, and with that alone I shall  
 “be able to find the death I desire; but if  
 “you dare not trust me with a sword, throw  
 “me bound as I am to wild beasts, and this  
 “will be an ample reparation for all your in-  
 “justice.” This speech melted the whole  
 army into tears, all but the *Argyraspides*, who  
 loudly exclaimed, that a vagabond foreigner  
 was not to be regarded, and thus pushed him  
 forward with great violence. When this un-  
 fortunate general was conducted into the  
 camp, *Antigonus*, mindful of their former  
 friendship, had not courage to face him, but  
 ordered that he should be guarded as an ele-  
 phant or lion. But a little after, being  
 moved with compassion, he commanded his  
 heaviest irons to be taken off, and a servant  
 to anoint the places where they had rankled.  
 His friends also were permitted to visit him,  
 and to supply him with necessaries.

*Antigonus* now began to deliberate in what  
 manner to treat his prisoner: one while he  
 listened to the few who were for preserving  
 his life, but he was at last swayed by those  
 who advised his destruction. In this anxiety  
 of suspense, *Eumenes* one day asked his keeper,  
 why he was not either released or dispatched?  
 to which the other brutally replied, “The  
 “field had been a properer place than this to  
 “have shewn your contempt of death.”  
 “And in the field I did shew it, replied *Eu-*  
 “*menes*;

“ *menes*. I appeal to those who opposed me, if ever I found any but what I was able to subdue.” When the death of *Eumenes* was resolved on, *Antigonius* commanded that the keepers should starve him to death; and when he had fasted two or three days, the wretched soldier began to draw near his end; but the camp, on some sudden alarm, being obliged to move, an executioner was sent to dispatch him. His body was afterwards given to his friends; and when according to the rites of sepulture it was burned, his ashes were collected in a silver urn, and sent to his wife and children. Thus died this brave man; but the *Argyraspides*, who first basely betrayed him, received the proper reward of their villainy: they were, by order of the tyrant whom they intended to gratify, delivered up to *Ihyrtius*, governor of *Arachosia*, with strict injunctions that he should use every method of extirpating and destroying every one of them.



I


A G



tions.  
a greater  
panions,  
nence am  
tle in his  
fluence o  
reproach  
enjoined



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
AGESILAUS.

GESILAUS was the younger son of Archidamus king of Lacedæmon. Having only the prospect of being a private man, his education was conformable to his expectations. Though yet but a boy, he discovered a greater spirit of bravery than any of his companions, was always ambitious of pre-eminence among them, yet still so mild and gentle in his nature, that though fear had no influence over him, he was so much affected with reproach, that he performed whatever was enjoined him. These qualifications procured him

him the love of *Lyfander*, who admired his ingenuous modesty, and wished to reward it.

He was lame of one leg; but the chearfulness with which he supported his misfortune, and his readiness to join in the ridicule of others upon this deformity, made it less apparent. He is said also to have been of short stature, and to want dignity in his aspect; but his gaiety and good-humour more than recompensed these defects. However, the *Lacedæmonians* shewed a stupid aversion to men of low stature; and even one of their kings was fined for marrying a little wife, it being said, that she would bring a race of pigmies instead of kings.

While his elder brother *Agis* was yet upon the throne, *Alcibiades* being banished from *Athens*, came to *Sparta*, and contracted such an intimacy with *Timea* the queen, that scandal began to be busy; and a child, of which she was delivered during his abode there, was universally believed to have been his. However, though *Agis* refused for a long time to own *Leotychides* for his child, on his death-bed he was prevailed upon to declare him before witnesses legal heir to the throne: yet notwithstanding this, by the interest of *Lyfander*, *Agefilaus* obtained the kingdom, in opposition to the pretensions of *Leotychides*, his nephew.

There was still however a bar to his being universally agreeable; for being lame, the *Spartans* had an oracle which forbade them to make a lame man a king: this at first seemed

an obstacle soon exposed the gods foot, but a descendant produce ther to qu tions, he fortune, only gain *Spartans* were appo of the ki utmost co while he p ference, h his enemi friends wa these mean he at last and they, him as be who ough state.

*Agefilaus* ment, whi deprive th To resist t the public on conditi most able in the ex enfranchis allies. T authority



an obstacle; but the sense of the oracle was soon explained away, and it was insisted that the gods had not declared against a limping foot, but against admitting one who was not a descendant from *Hercules*, which would thus produce an halting succession: but yet, farther to quiet the minds of his brother's relations, he distributed among them half his fortune, and by this popular action, not only gained their good will, but that of the *Spartans* in general. The Ephori too, who were appointed to restrain the absolute power of the kings, were by him treated with the utmost complaisance and condescension; and while he paid their authority an external deference, he actually encreased his own. To his enemies he was never severe; but to his friends was often partial, even to injustice. By these means he acquired such popularity, that he at last became suspected by the Ephori, and they, as they had such power, fined him as being a monopolizer of the citizens, who ought to be the common good of the state.

*Agésilas* was hardly settled in his government, when the *Persians* made an attempt to deprive the *Spartans* of their power by sea. To resist their efforts, *Agésilas* coming into the public assembly, offered his service, upon condition of being granted thirty of the most able of his countrymen for his assistants in the expedition, besides 2000 of the newly enfranchised Helots or slaves, and 6000 of the allies. This request he soon obtained by the authority of *Lytauder*, and preparing for his  
 expe-

expedition, in imitation of *Agamemnon*, who sacrificed his own daughter upon a similar occasion, he ordered an hind to be crowned with chaplets, and sacrificed by his own soothsayer. But the governors of the *Bæotians* were so offended at his not employing the priest they had appointed, that they sent officers, who threw from the altar the quarters of the hind that lay upon it, which *Agefilaus* considered as a most unhappy omen.

When he came to *Ephesus*, his first endeavour was to lessen the great authority of *Lysander*, by whom he had been raised to the throne, and to thwart him in all his counsels and designs. All petitions, backed by the interest of *Lysander*, were sure to be rejected, and even in judicial causes, such as were opposed by *Lysander*, were sure of succeeding. *Lysander* was soon sensible of these proceedings, and at last complained to *Agefilaus* himself of his treatment: telling him, *That none knew better than he how to disgrace his friends.* To which *Agefilaus* replied, *Not if they do not pretend to more power than I.* I hope, replied *Lysander*, *to prove your suspicions groundless, and I beg to be assigned some office where I may serve you without incurring your displeasure.*

Yet still he kept in mind his disgrace, and formed a scheme of wresting the kingdom out of the hands of those who were then in possession of it; and by making the crown wholly elective, open the way to all whose ambition might aspire so high: but being sent upon an expedition to *Bæotia*, death put an end to his designs.

In



*ÆS*  
*Bæotia*  
*Altar.*



*AGÉSILAS sacrificing a Hind, the  
Bœotians throw the Quarters from the  
Altar.*



In the  
war with  
phernes the  
him, yet  
making he  
renew hos  
the other  
Spartans,  
the Persians  
ria, with  
after him,  
vaded Phry  
and carried  
he retired  
army, by g  
of which  
posed, lea  
each of t  
found him  
lute caval  
to obey.

The pris  
gia were e  
mand strip  
crowd had  
minacy of  
"gefilaus  
"the me  
"pointing  
"in a he  
"things f  
When th  
Agefilaus g  
rade Lydia  
VOL. V

In the mean time *Agésilas* prosecuted the war with the *Persians*; and though *Tisaphernes* their general concluded a truce with him, yet when he found himself capable of making head against *Agésilas*, he resolved to renew hostilities. The *Grecian* general on the other hand, at the head of an army of *Spartans*, used art to revenge the perfidy of the *Persians*; he pretended to march into *Caria*, whither, when he had drawn the enemy after him, he suddenly turned back, and invaded *Phrygia*, where he took many cities, and carried away much booty: from hence he retired to *Ephesus*, and strengthened his army, by giving the wealthy and effeminate, of which it was in a great measure composed, leave to retire, upon their finding each of them a man and horse. Thus he found himself at the head of a body of resolute cavalry, ready to combat, and willing to obey.

The prisoners whom he had taken in *Phrygia* were exposed to sale, and by his command stripp'd naked; which, when the crowd had sufficiently derided for the effeminacy of their persons, "These, cried *Agésilas* to such as stood by him, these are the men against whom you fight; and pointing to their rich garments, which lay in a heap near them, and these are the things for which you fight."

When the season for war began to return, *Agésilas* gave out that he was going to invade *Lydia*. *Tisaphernes* having been before

deceived by such reports, took no care of *Lydia*, but turned his forces to defend *Caria*, a rough country, where he supposed the *Spartan* would begin the campaign. Finding however, that *Agésilæus* had actually been as good as his word, and had entered the plains of *Sardis*, he hastened to succour that city, and had the good fortune to cut off some of the stragglers of the *Grecian* army. But *Agésilæus*, sensible that the *Persian* infantry were not yet come up, made haste to begin the combat, and soon dispersed the enemy, putting many of them to the sword. After this victory, the *Persian* provinces lay open to the conqueror; and *Tisaphernes* was, by the command of the *Persian* king, superseded by *Tithraustes*, who first caused his head to be cut off, and then offered terms of accommodation to *Agésilæus*. But these he refused, only accepting thirty talents towards defraying the charge of the campaign, and removing his army into *Phrygia*, as a mark of approbation for the justice executed upon *Tisaphernes* his enemy. Whilst yet upon his march, he received a commission from the council of *Sparta*, constituting him their admiral as well as general. He was the first *Spartan* who had ever enjoyed that honour; however he in some measure shewed himself unworthy of their confidence upon this occasion, by appointing *Pisander*, who had no other merit than that of being his own relation, to command the fleet.

He ne  
vince of  
contribu  
ratified a  
try, that  
esteem a  
From the  
*nabazus*,  
*dates*, a  
seized al  
the spoil  
and chan  
the *Paph*  
Some  
*Persian*,  
*laus*, whi  
narch wa  
upon the  
*Persian* h  
rich carp  
*silæus* in  
down up  
gan the c  
the ingra  
*Attic* wa  
vices fro  
*gesilæus*, v  
behaved a  
and behav  
your mast  
molest y  
Whenever  
of the *Gre*  
army and



He next removed his camp into the province of *Pharnabazus*, where he raised large contributions, and proceeding to *Paphlagonia*, ratified a league with *Cotys* king of that country, that monarch being induced to it by his esteem and regard for the virtues of *Agessilaus*. From thence he returned back against *Pharnabazus*, and with the assistance of *Spithridates*, a *Persian* revolter, took his camp, and seized all his treasure. Upon the division of the spoil, *Spithridates* was again disobliged, and changing sides once more, went off with the *Paphlagonians* to *Sardis*.

Some time after this, *Pharnabazus* the *Persian*, proposed a conference with *Agessilaus*, which being accepted, the *Spartan* monarch waited for the approach of the Satrap, upon the grass, under a spreading tree. The *Persian* had brought with him soft skins and rich carpets to recline upon; but seeing *Agessilaus* in that humble manner, laid himself down upon the grass also. *Pharnabazus* began the conference, by expostulating against the ingratitude of the *Spartans*, who in the *Attic* war had received such signal services from him. At that time answered *Agessilaus*, we were the friends of *Persia*, and behaved as friends, but we are now at war, and behave as enemies: not against you, but your master, is our indignation directed. We molest you, only that we may hurt him. Whenever you chuse rather to be the friend of the *Grecians*, than the slave of a king, our army and navy shall be at your command.

To this *Pharnabazus* made answer, " If the King should appoint another governor over me, then will I certainly come over to you; but while I am trusted with the government, it is my duty to serve my employer." After the conference was thus ended, the son of *Pharnabazus* desired the friendship of *Agefilaus*, who readily gave him a promise of future regard, and ever after was mindful of his engagement. It was the character of *Agefilaus* to be steadfast in friendship, and his tendency this way often carried him even to injustice: *If, says he in one of his epistles, Nicias be innocent, absolve him; if he be guilty, absolve him upon my account; at any rate absolve him.*

The war now continuing another year, the reputation of *Agefilaus*, for temperance, candour, and moderation, was diffused even to the remotest provinces of *Persia*. Upon a journey, he usually lay in some temple, that the gods might be witnesses of his most private actions; none of the soldiers lay hard, and none less valued the vicissitudes of heat and cold than he; his cloaths were coarse and thread-bare, and his simplicity had not a few imitators among the *Persians*. His former successes now induced him to march further up the country, and attack even the *Persian* monarch in his capital: but in the midst of his designs, news was brought him that *Sparta* was involved in a *Grecian* war, with orders from the Ephori to return home to its assistance.

No pa  
deserves  
pliance  
upon re  
midst of  
and insta  
his friend  
to say up  
sian arch  
impressed  
his being  
ceived b  
whereby  
declare w

On his  
he passed  
march,  
demande  
silver, a  
contemni  
the mess  
come with  
them, as  
their pro  
slew then  
king of M  
dominion  
he would  
" Why  
" hardy  
" time p  
waste the  
in alliance  
of his ge

No part of the conduct of *Agésilæus* more deserves our approbation than his ready compliance with this command: immediately upon receiving his orders, though in the midst of victory, he left his task unfinished, and instantly departed, to the great regret of his friends and intimates. *Agésilæus* was heard to say upon this occasion, *That 10,000 Persian archers, meaning so many pieces of gold impressed with that figure, were the cause of his being recalled*; alluding to the bribes received by the orators of *Athens* and *Thebes*, whereby those two republics were induced to declare war against *Sparta*.

On his return, the countries thro' which he passed, made no efforts to interrupt his march, the *Trallians* only excepted, who demanded upon this occasion 100 talents of silver, and 100 of his women. *Agésilæus* contemning their demands, ironically asked the messengers, *Why their masters were not come with them to receive it?* And finding them, as he proceeded, drawn up to stop their progress, he attacked, routed, and slew them in great numbers. He sent to the king of *Macedon* for leave to pass through his dominions; to which the other replied, that he would take time to deliberate upon it. "Why then let him deliberate, cried the "hardy *Spartan*, and we will in the mean "time proceed." Going forward, he laid waste the country of the *Thessalians*, who were in alliance with the enemy; and sending two of his generals to one of their cities, to per-

suade the inhabitants to join with *Sparta*, they seized the ambassadors, and imprisoned them. This insult *Agésilau*s bore with the utmost tranquillity; and when incited to revenge their disgrace, he replied, that he valued either of the two captives more than the whole country of *Thessaly*; he therefore compounded with the citizens, and received his men again in safety. After this the *Pharsalians* harrassed his army, and incommoded his passage; but he routed them with his usual success, and erected a trophy of his victory upon that occasion, for which he ever after greatly valued himself.

Here he was met by *Diphridas*, one of the *Ephori*, with orders to make an inroad into *Bæotia*; though he did not approve of that proceeding, yet he soon complied with his orders; and having passed *Thermopylæ*, went through *Phocis*, and entering *Bæotia*, encamped near the city of *Cheronea*. As he approached the *Theban* army, news was brought him that *Pisander*, whom he had formerly constituted his admiral, was defeated by *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* in a sea engagement near *Cnidus*; and that the commander himself was slain. Though much distressed at this information, yet he dissembled his grief, and ordered the messengers to give out that *Pisander* had obtained the victory, and he himself appeared in public crowned with garlands, and returned thanks with all the solemnity of a sacrifice. When he was within view of the enemy, he drew up his army,

army, a  
menians,  
*Theban*  
ner, for  
placing  
was sligh  
menians,  
to him.  
the cond  
stantly ab  
impetuous  
bans to p  
in the rea  
victory;  
attacked  
all before  
ception t  
overpaw  
bravery o  
his person  
it therefor  
the *Theban*  
gem, and  
the *Theban*  
observing  
disorder,  
He could  
bans; and  
tained the  
*Agésilau*s  
would not  
carried off  
willing to  
posed to r

army, and giving his left wing to the *Orcho-*  
*menians*, he led the right in person. The  
*Thebans* drew up their army in the same man-  
ner, forming the right wing themselves, and  
placing the *Argives* on the left. The first charge  
was slight; the *Thebans* easily routed the *Orcho-*  
*menians*, as *Agésilas* did the *Argives* opposed  
to him. But both parties being informed of  
the condition of their left wings, turned in-  
stantly about to their assistance. Could the  
impetuosity of *Agésilas* have suffered the *The-*  
*bans* to press forward, and then charge them  
in the rear, he might have easily acquired the  
victory; but such was his eagerness, that he  
attacked them in front, thinking to bear down  
all before him: but he found a warmer re-  
ception than he expected. He was almost  
overpowered, and had it not been for the  
bravery of fifty volunteers, who fought round  
his person, he had certainly fallen. Finding  
it therefore impossible to break the front of  
the *Theban* army, he had recourse to strata-  
gem, and pretending to give way, suffered  
the *Thebans* to pass through his ranks; and  
observing that they pressed forward in some  
disorder, he attacked them in flank and rear.  
He could not however totally rout the *The-*  
*bans*; and both sides boasted of having ob-  
tained the victory.

*Agésilas*, though weakened by his wounds,  
would not retire till he had seen his dead  
carried off; and the next morning, being  
willing to try whether the *Thebans* were dis-  
posed to renew the engagement, he ordered  
his

his soldiers to put garlands on their heads, and the musicians to play on their flutes, while he erected a trophy as conqueror. The enemy however only desired leave to bury their dead, which he looked upon as an acknowledgment of his victory; and going to the *Pythian* games, which were then celebrating, he solemnly offered an hundred talents at the *Delphic* shrine, which was the tenth part of the spoils he had brought from *Asia*.

Upon his return to his native *Sparta*, the citizens were happy at finding, that the simplicity of his manners were no ways tinged with foreign effeminacy: his meals, his cloaths, and his furniture were still the same. Observing the infatuation of the *Greeks* in training and breeding horses for the chariot race, he persuaded his sister to place herself in a chariot and contend for the prize. By this fine satire he was willing to shew them, that neither wisdom nor courage were necessary for a victory of this nature, but riches and profusion. Among his friends was *Xenophon* the historian, whom he respected and esteemed. He even persuaded him to have his children brought to *Sparta* to learn the arts of government and obedience. By choosing the wisest persons for his friends, and buying off his enemies by pieces and employments, he soon found that there were none left to oppose his measures. *Agefipolis*, his partner in the government, was the son of an exiled father, and his youth, moderation and

indo-

indolen  
tions to  
*Agefip*  
blished  
relation  
marched  
*Argives*  
then in  
games.  
sports u  
the *Corin*  
these ga  
the cowa  
upon the  
to shew t  
of mind  
and when  
time ver  
thrust hi  
order to b  
self quite  
he knew  
you are a  
hear a ma  
tingale, h  
heard the  
Whilst  
territories,  
from the  
but havin  
and thinki  
his affairs,  
hear them,



indolence were such, as to raise no obstructions to the designs of his colleague.

*Agésilas* having thus encreased and established his power, obtained that *Teleutias*, his relation, should be chosen admiral, and then marched his forces by land against *Corinth*. The *Argives* were then in possession of that city, and then in the midst of celebrating the *Isthmian* games. They soon however abandoned their sports upon his approach: but he gave the *Corinthians* leave, as usual, to preside at these games, at the same time reproaching the cowardice of such as valued themselves upon their victories here, while they refused to shew their bravery in the field. His turn of mind led him to despise such pageants; and when *Callipedes*, a tragic actor, at that time very eminent in *Greece*, one day had thrust himself into the king's train, in order to be taken notice of, and finding himself quite disregarded, he asked the king, *If he knew him?* Yes, replied *Agésilas* coolly, *you are a stage-player*. Being invited once to hear a man who admirably imitated the nightingale, he refused to go, saying, *That he had heard the nightingale herself*.

Whilst he yet continued in the *Corinthian* territories, he was solicited by ambassadors from the city who came to treat of a peace: but having a great aversion to that people, and thinking a public flight might promote his affairs, he pretended neither to see nor hear them, but kept his eyes on a party of soldiers

soldiers intent upon plunder. The ambassadors thus treated with indignity retired; and soon after news was brought of a victory gained over one of his generals; he now therefore again sent for the ambassadors, who were resolved to return the slight they had suffered the day before. Wherefore being come to an audience, they only desired leave to return home. *Agefilaut* being vexed at their indifference, without dismissing them, brought them with him to the very gates of their city, and ravaging the country before their eyes, civilly dismissed them, and then with the remainder of his army returned homewards.

After this, assisting the *Acheans* against the people of *Acarmania*, he gained a victory over them; and *Pharnabazus* the *Persian*, being now become master at sea, the *Lacedaemonians* thought proper to conclude a peace with him, deserting the *Asiatic Greeks*, on whose account *Agefilaut* had first began the war. This however was done contrary to the opinion of that general, the whole affair being transacted by means of *Antalcidas*, an enemy to *Agefilaut*. The peace being thus concluded, the king of *Persia* wrote to *Agefilaut* desiring his private friendship; but the other declined the offer, saying, That while public friendship subsisted, there was no need of stronger ties to unite them. His equity however was not upon all occasions equally conspicuous. When in a time of peace, *Cadmea*

a castle

a castle  
by *Pha*  
rals, I  
persuad  
of whi  
fessed:  
*silaus* h  
tion of  
This  
weak,  
upon so  
tended  
try. H  
surprizi  
ting off  
and the  
the exec  
upon it  
soldiers  
thus disa  
laging t  
shame.  
*nians* lou  
selves, w  
chery fro  
in their  
tion was  
as he was  
was supp  
This; S  
by *Archid*  
with tear  
cession of

a castle belonging to the *Thebans*, was seized by *Phæbidas*, one of the *Lacædemonian* generals, he not only protected *Phæbidas*, but persuaded his countrymen to keep the city, of which they had been thus unjustly possessed: and it afterwards appeared, that *Agæfilaus* himself had given orders for this infraction of public justice.

This treachery succeeding, *Sphodrias*, a weak, rash, but ambitious man, was resolved upon some similar actions, that might be attended with yet greater benefits to his country. His design was no less than that of surprizing the *Piræus* of *Athens*, and cutting off the communication between that city and the sea. His design however failed in the execution: he intended to have fallen upon it by night; but day rose before his soldiers could arrive at the place, and being thus disappointed, he spent some time in pillaging the country, and then returned with shame. This infraction of treaties the *Athenians* loudly resented, and the *Spartans* themselves, willing to remove the blame of treachery from their city, seemed equally violent in their disapprobation. A capital prosecution was commenced against *Sphodrias*; and, as he was the declared enemy of *Agæfilaus*, it was supposed that he could not escape.

This *Sphodrias* had a son greatly regarded by *Archidamus*, son to *Agæfilaus*. This youth, with tears in his eyes, entreated the intercession of *Archidamus* with the king to save his

his father's life. *Archidamus* had not resolution enough for some time to plead his cause, but followed *Agefilas* up and down for three or four days successively. At last, when the time approached for pronouncing sentence, his friendship getting the better of his timidity, he addressed his father in *Sphrodias*'s behalf. *Agefilas* gave him an evasive answer, which made the friends of the accused imagine that his case was desperate. *Agefilas* however at last discovered his mind, observing, that though the action deserved infamy, yet *Sphrodias* was a brave man, and of such the commonwealth stood in need at that time. This was enough to bring off the criminal; his friends exerted themselves in his defence, and *Sphrodias* was acquitted.

The tenderness of *Agefilas* to his son was at this time highly disagreeable; but paternal fondness was one of his most peculiar qualities. It is said, that when his children were little, he would usually make himself an hobby-horse and ride among them. Being one day surprized at this amusement by a friend, he desired him to keep it concealed till he himself should have children.

When the people of *Athens* heard of the acquittal of *Sphrodias*, they immediately took up arms. The *Theban* war also was to be sustained, and *Agefilas*, though he had before claimed the privilege of his age, being now above forty years under arms, was obliged to take the field in person.

This

This  
with va  
perceived  
the art o  
ditions a  
were not  
since the  
tives of p  
mofity.  
injustice o  
year at t  
posed the  
vince then  
*Spartan* tr  
made use  
whole arm  
allies on o  
then he de  
body to sta  
the potters  
allies, as t  
they all rose  
of the *Spar*  
ercise an  
me arose.  
you see, my  
much grea  
When he  
as sudden  
his leg, v  
ammation,  
ood below  
is occasion  
Vol. V.

This war with the *Thebans* was carried on with various success; and now the *Spartans* perceived that they had taught the *Thebans* the art of war, by long and frequent expeditions against them. The *Spartan* allies also were not pleased at the conduct of *Agefilaus* since the war had commenced, not from motives of public interest, but from private animosity. They therefore complained of the injustice of being thus harrassed, out year after year at the will of the *Spartans*, who composed the smallest part of the army. To convince them that the number of soldiers in the *Spartan* troops was greater than in their's, he made use of this expedient: he ordered the whole army to sit down on the ground, the allies on one side, the *Spartans* on the other; then he desired all the carpenters in either body to stand up; then all the masons; then the potters, and so on. On the side of the allies, as the soldiers were mostly tradesmen, they all rose up almost to a man: on the side of the *Spartans*, who were by law forbid to exercise any mechanical employment, not one arose. Then said *Agefilaus* laughing, *you see, my friends, that our number of soldiers is much greater than your's.*

When he was returning from *Boeotia*, he was suddenly seized with a convulsive pain in his leg, which being attended with an inflammation, a *Syracusan* physician let him bleed below the ankle. The hemorrhage on this occasion was violent, and reduced him

so low, that he did not recover strength to appear in the field a long time after.

In the mean time, the *Spartans* were beaten both by sea and land; but the greatest loss they sustained was at the battle of *Leuctra*, where they were routed by the *Thebans*, *Epa-minondas* was at that time the *Theban* general; he had been sent to an assembly of the *Grecian* states to deliberate upon a peace, where, while other ambassadors behaved with a timid submission to *Agefilaus*, he pleaded the cause of his country with intrepidity and wisdom; he was as yet known only for his learning and virtue, but had given no proofs of his martial qualifications. However, by the interest of *Agefilaus*, the *Thebans* were excluded from the general treaty, and orders were sent to *Cleombrotus* the *Spartan* general to march directly into *Bæotia*. But, as the war was undertaken with passion, it was also conducted without success. At *Leuctra* there fell of the *Spartans* a thousand men, together with *Cleombrotus* their king, and many of the bravest men of their city, particularly *Clonymus*, the son of *Sphrodias*, who was there struck down at the king's feet, and was last slain.

This was the most glorious victory that hitherto been acquired by any *Grecian* state over another; it quite ruined the *Spartan* grandeur, and destroyed their influence on the other states around them. However, when news of it was brought to their king, which was then employed in the celebra-

of cert  
gave o  
interru  
mily th  
slain, c  
The ne  
men upo  
lamentat  
pected fi  
ples to r  
brothers  
The P  
broke ou  
membered  
exclude a  
though th  
none to re  
alone expe  
His first di  
had escape  
Sparta had  
held with t  
wear tattere  
he only half  
might strike  
orous puni  
ould have  
men were so  
he declared  
e suspended  
to Arcadia,  
and excursion



of certain exercises in the theatre, the Ephori gave orders that the games should suffer no interruption, but privately sending each family the names of their friends who were slain, ordered the solemnities to proceed. The next day the women even outdid the men upon this occasion, instead of sorrow and lamentations, which might be naturally expected from the sex, they went to the temples to return thanks that their children or brothers had fallen for their country.

The people's discontent however soon broke out against *Agefilaus*: they now remembered the oracle which directed them to exclude a lame person from the throne: yet, though they murmured against him, they had none to rely on but him, and from his virtue alone expected the redress of their calamities. His first difficulty was how to treat those who had escaped the overthrow. The laws of *Sparta* had marked such as fled from the field with the utmost infamy, they were to wear tattered garments; their beards were to be only half shaven, and they who pleased, might strike them with impunity. Such rigorous punishment however at this juncture would have ruined the state, at a time when men were so much wanting. *Agefilaus* therefore declared that the laws should for this once be suspended, and led the troops in person into *Arcadia*, attempting by slight advantages and excursions to revive the spirits of his soldiers;

diers; but at the same time carefully avoiding a general engagement.

Not long after, *Epaminondas* and his *Theban* allies invaded the territories of *Sparta* with an army of near 70,000 men. This was the first time an invader had ever dared to enter their dominions, and they now beheld the *Theban* army with terror, tumult, and amaze. In the mean time, *Agésilas* took every precaution to secure the city, and when informed that the enemy intended to assault the town, he posted himself in so advantageous a situation, that *Epaminondas* finding it impossible to draw him from thence, was forced to retire, wasting the country in his retreat.

While *Agésilas* was thus employed in repelling foreign enemies, a conspiracy threatened the city from within. Two hundred malecontents got into a strong part of the town called *Hifferon*, and seized upon the temple of *Diana*. The *Spartans* would have instantly attacked them; but *Agésilas*, not knowing how wide the sedition might have been spread, went himself only with one servant, and approaching the rebels, cried out, "You have mistaken my orders; my directions were, not that you should go in any body to that station, but that some of you should march off to that post of the city, and some to that." The conspirators thinking themselves not suspected, marched to the places he pointed to; whereupon causing some of the ringleaders to be apprehended

and put to death, he pardoned the rest. Another conspiracy was detected soon after, in which several citizens had consulted about altering the form of government, it was equally dangerous, during the present confusion, to prosecute them publickly, or to connive at them. They were therefore, by the consent of the Ephori, privately executed without process, a thing hitherto unknown in *Sparta*. The Helots and mercenaries also deserted to the enemy in great numbers; when any man was gone, *Agésilas* ordered the officers to hide his arms, so that his loss might not be perceived. But all his vigilance could not bring *Sparta* back to its ancient greatness. As in healthy bodies long used to a strict and regular diet, the least deviation from the prescribed rule is generally fatal, so one error destroyed the strength and prosperity of this city. The constitution was framed for domestic happiness; but when the people began to aim at conquest, the consequence was disgrace and ruin.

*Agésilas* being now very old, gave up all military employments to his son, who revived the drooping courage of his country by a victory over the *Arcadians*, in which not one *Spartan* was slain. *Sparta*, for some time lulled to victory, received the news with transports of joy. The king went to meet the triumph with tears of pleasure, and the old men and women marched out in crowds as far as the river *Eurotas* to congratulate the conqueror.

The *Mantineans*, who had been subjects of *Sparta* in the course of this war, revolted to the *Thebans*; *Epaminondas* attempted, by rebuilding the city of *Messene*, to secure the possession of the county to *Thebes*. This *Agefilas* found himself unable to prevent, yet could he not be brought to make a formal cession of what he had not in his power to withhold. The *Mantineans* therefore soon after revolted again to the *Spartans*, and *Agefilas* began to march with a powerful army to their assistance. In the mean time his vigilant adversary, privately and by night quitted his station, and passing by the *Spartan* army, marched directly to the walls of *Sparta*, and almost surprized it, now destitute of defenders. *Agefilas* had some time before been apprized of his design, and soon arrived to defend the city. He received the *Thebans* with his usual intrepidity, and exerted himself much beyond what was to be expected from his years: his son also was seen in every place of danger, repulsing the enemy whenever they pressed hardest into the town. *Othryades* also, a young man, distinguished himself upon this occasion: when the alarm was given, he ran forth naked as he was among the enemy, a spear in one hand and sword in the other; and bearing down that opposed him, had the good fortune to escape without a wound. The *Ephoroi* rewarded him a garland for his bravery, but gave him 1000 drachmas for going out to battle unarmed.

A few  
was  
slain.  
treaty of  
forego  
solved to  
he was c  
to defray  
he incur  
*Tallos* th  
was invi  
an exped  
eighty ye  
and mere  
people w  
expectati  
of majesty  
contempt  
the grafs.  
presents h  
rejected  
when pre  
might be  
Upon j  
pointed in  
preme con  
ed in a m  
dignity.  
ing his res  
*Wabis*, a k  
portunity;  
side he wa  
with all h  
*ebos* being

A few days after this the battle of *Manti-*  
*nea* was fought, in which *Epaminondas* was  
 slain. His death again brought on a general  
 treaty of peace; but *Agésilas*, unwilling to  
 forego his pretensions to *Messenia*, was re-  
 solved to carry on the war alone. For this  
 he was censured, as the citizens were unable  
 to defray the charges; but the censure which  
 he incurred soon after, in his transactions with  
*Tachos* the *Egyptian* was still more just: he  
 was invited by this monarch to assist him in  
 an expedition against the *Persians*. Being now  
 eighty years old, at the head of some friends  
 and mercenaries, he landed in *Egypt*. The  
 people who from his fame had conceived vast  
 expectations, were surprized to see, instead  
 of majesty and splendor, a little old man of a  
 contemptible appearance lying down upon  
 the grass. When they offered him the usual  
 presents he took the necessary provisions, but  
 rejected the sweetmeats and perfumes, and  
 when pressed to take them, he desired they  
 might be carried to the Helots.

Upon joining with *Tachos*, he was disap-  
 pointed in his expectations of having the su-  
 preme command, and he found himself treat-  
 ed in a manner much below his spirit and  
 dignity. He sought an opportunity of shew-  
 ing his resentment, and the revolt of *Nectan-*  
*abis*, a kinsman of *Tachos*, soon gave an op-  
 portunity; he therefore basely deserted the  
 side he was called to defend, and went over  
 with all his mercenaries to *Nectanabis*. *Tachos*  
 being thus deserted fled; but *Nectanabis*

was

was in the mean time opposed by another pretender to the crown, who marched at the head of 100,000 men against him. *Agefilaus* being consulted upon this exigence, and finding that *Nectanabis* seemed to despise their numbers, as being strangers to military discipline, *Agefilaus* remarked, that their ignorance was what he was most afraid of: *That those who have art, are more easily foiled by superior art; but that he, who neither suspects nor fears any thing, gives no more opportunity to the enemy, than he who stands still gives to a wrestler.* This in some measure awaked the suspicions of *Nectanabis*, but they were confirmed when *Agefilaus* opposed a battle; for this the *Egyptians* called him a traitor, but *Agefilaus* heard their reproaches with patience, and pursued his design of over-reaching the enemy.

The city where *Agefilaus* and *Nectanabis* were besieged, was fortified with large and strong walls, and the enemy began to draw a deep ditch about them, in order to shut out all relief. When this work was almost completed, and the two ends were nearly joined together, *Agefilaus*, at the head of the troops, sallied out by night through the unfinished space, and the enemy being unable to surround him, he brought his army out in safety. Having by this stratagem retrieved his credit with the king, he made use of a second artifice to deceive the enemy. He at one time feigned a retreat; at another, he would turn and face them: by this means, he drew their

their who  
each side  
In this stre  
tuosity, an  
bers in so  
the rest for

The Eg  
kingdom,  
spend the  
clined the  
sisting his  
therefore  
among oth  
230 talent  
war in wh  
the Theba  
Sparta; b  
was driven  
Africa, ca  
expired,  
reigned fo  
ing proper  
wrapped  
conveyed  
terity reig  
tions.




their whole army into a place flanked on each side by deep ditches filled with water. In this streight he attacked them with impetuosity, and being encumbered by their numbers in so narrow a place, many fell, while the rest found safety by flight.

The *Egyptian* being thus settled in the kingdom, earnestly invited his benefactor to spend the winter in *Egypt*; but *Agessilaus* declined the invitation, being desirous of assisting his countrymen at home: *Nectanabis* therefore dismissed him honourably; and among other presents, gave the city of *Sparta* 230 talents of silver towards the charge of the war in which they were then engaged with the *Thebans*. *Agessilaus* now embarked for *Sparta*; but the winter season coming on, he was driven by a tempest upon a desert shore in *Africa*, call'd the *Haven of Menelaus*: here he expired, aged eighty-four years, having reigned forty-one. His attendants not having proper materials to embalm him there, wrapped his body in a wax garment, and conveyed him to *Lacedæmon*, where his posterity reigned after him for five generations.





THE  
L I F E  
O F  
P O M P E Y.

 O man was ever more hated by the *Romans* than the father of *Pompey*; none more beloved than the son. In his youth, the sweetness of *Pompey's* aspect prejudiced every beholder in his favour: his hair was naturally somewhat erect; his eyes were possessed of a fluid fire, so that he in some measure resembled *Alexander*, and was not displeased at being called by his name.

His modesty with regard to women has been censured by some; but his deportment towards the wife of his freedman, a woman of exquisite beauty, is an instance of his temperance

perance in himself to he behave nefs and those duti himself.

As to his rema kable his physicia stomach na there were but he was all the ye tained from be indebted and dismiss with such f

When v his father, *Cinna*. *L Pompey*, an prevailed u ing *Pompey* *Pompey* bei while at it posed, but for the cor as if to ret he stole sec guard abou event. *Ta* proached came with *Pimpey* ha

perance in this respect. Instead of suffering himself to be captivated with her charms, he behaved to her with an affected rudeness and incivility, rather than violate those duties which he owed society and himself.

As to his temperance in diet, there is one remarkable instance of it related: being ill, his physician ordered him a thrush, as his stomach nauseated other meats. Upon search, there were none to be found in the market; but he was informed, that *Lucullus* kept them all the year round, and one might be obtained from thence. *What*, cried he, *must I be indebted to his luxury for my relief? never*; and dismissing the physician, was contented with such food as could be easily procured.

When very young, he served under *Strabo* his father, who was appointed general against *Cinna*. *Lucius Terentius*, a companion of *Pompey*, and who lived in the same tent, was prevailed upon by *Cinna* to attempt murdering *Pompey*, and then to set the tent on fire. *Pompey* being informed of his base intention while at supper, he seemed no way discomposed, but expressed a particular friendship for the conspirator, and at bed-time retired as if to rest. In the mean while, however, he stole secretly out of the tent, and setting a guard about his father, patiently waited the event. *Terentius*, when the proper hour approached to put his enterprize in execution, came with his sword drawn to the bed where *Pompey* had lain, and pierced through the

bec.

bed-cloaths several times. It now being supposed that he was slain, an uproar was instantly spread through the whole camp; and as the soldiers hated *Strabo* the general, each was disposed to revolt. In this confusion *Pompey* shewed himself to the soldiers, and throwing himself across the gate, desired such as were marching off to trample upon him; on which the soldiers, struck with remorse, repented of their crime, and were reconciled to the general.

After the death of *Strabo*, *Pompey* was obliged to defend an imputation of having shared the public treasure which had been embezzled by his father. From this aspersion he cleared himself by throwing the blame upon his father's freedman, whom he asserted to have converted those treasures to his own use. He was again arraigned upon a frivolous indictment, of having seized some hunting nets and books that were taken at *Asculum*. He pleaded that he had received them from his father; and that he had since been deprived of them when his house was plundered upon a popular commotion in the city. On this occasion he shewed a readiness of understanding far surpassing his years; and *Antistius* his judge, was so charmed with his manner, that he gave him his daughter in marriage, and adjudged the cause in his favour.

After his marriage, he went to join *Cinna*, where, while yet in the camp, he found that some false accusations were preparing against him;

him; and Upon his was spread murdered b diately foll was endeavor by one of t was succeed able to the were expect Italy; Rome preffions of considered v bondage.

*Pompey* w but perceivi fled to *Sylla* of repairing assisted by t hereditary f gave commi short time co with this rei long, in ord inhabitants he party of opposed by t whom he eas leader of th and. *Scipio* ess; for bef f their adve self arms, f ver to them

him; and therefore thought proper to retire. Upon his suddenly disappearing, a rumour was spread through the army that he was murdered by *Cinna*. An insurrection immediately followed the report; and, as *Cinna* was endeavouring to escape, he was slain by one of the centurions of his army. *Cinna* was succeeded by *Carbo*, still more disagreeable to the soldiers than he; but great hopes were expected from the arrival of *Sylla* in *Italy*; *Rome* being now so reduced by the oppressions of the great, that the people only considered which would be the most tolerable bondage.

*Pompey* was at that time in the country; but perceiving that people from all quarters fled to *Sylla* for protection, he also thought of repairing to him among others. Being assisted by the *Picentines*, who bore him an hereditary friendship, he levied soldiers and gave commissions, and by this means in a short time collected three whole legions, and with this reinforcement marched leisurely along, in order to join *Sylla*, persuading the inhabitants wherever he went to revolt from the party of *Carbo*. On his march he was opposed by three generals at the same time, whom he easily overthrew, having killed the leader of the *Gaulish* horse with his own hand. *Scipio* the consul had even worse success; for before his soldiers were within reach of their adversaries darts, they threw down their arms, saluted *Pompey's* army, and came over to them. Last of all *Carbo* himself sent

down several bodies of horse by the river *Ar-fis*, which *Pompey* attacked with his usual courage and success, and forcing them into a defile, they surrendered themselves with their arms and horses.

*Sylla* was as yet unacquainted with *Pompey's* services; but when fame had brought him intelligence of them, fearing least *Pompey* should be overpowered by the multitude of his opponents he hastened to his relief. Upon the junction of the two armies, *Sylla* treated *Pompey* with the utmost deference and honour, gave him the title of Imperator; and whenever *Pompey* came into his presence, rose up and uncovered his head. He would even have given him the conduct of the army in *Gaul*, at that time commanded by *Metellus*. But *Pompey*, no way elated with his honours, refused the sole command, and was content to assist and accompany that general in the war. In this expedition, he performed actions that might alone have secured him immortality; but how great soever they were, they were eclipsed by the splendor of his subsequent success.

When *Sylla* had brought all *Italy* under his dominion, and was proclaimed dictator, judging *Pompey's* merit deserved the highest rewards, and considering that he might be useful in his future designs, he prevailed upon him to divorce *Antistia* his present wife, and to marry *Emilia* his daughter in-law; but a marriage so unjust was attended with no felicity. *Emilia*, who was the wife of another,

and pregnant in child-bed, was divorced from her daughter.

*Sicily* was a refuge to the fugitive, who was sent to enter the city to him. He was committed with the *Mamertines* founded upon what! repeating law. *Carbo*, who had him in a moment of lenity, or had been to him to an im-malefactor. policy obliged the rest, he and assisted had determined *mercenaries* the *Sthegnius*, or it was unjust the innocent guilty were. persuaded mies to a pleased with him, and paid wife that his



and pregnant when she married *Pompey*, died in child-bed; and the mother of *Antistia*, his divorced wife, hearing the indignity offered her daughter, put an end to her own life.

*Sicily* was now the only place that gave refuge to the enemies of *Sylla*, thither *Pompey* was sent with a great army, which no sooner entered the island, but the enemy abandoned it to him. He treated all the cities that submitted with great lenity, except that of the *Mamertines*, who alledging their privileges, founded upon an ancient grant of the *Romans*, *What!* replied he, *will you never desist from quoting laws to men who wear swords?* As for *Carbo*, who was taken prisoner, he treated him in a manner very different from his usual lenity, or *Carbo's* dignity; for though he had been thrice consul, *Pompey* condemned him to an ignominious death like a common malefactor. However, though motives of policy obliged him to be thus cruel, as to the rest, he connived at the escape of some, and assisted the flight of others. When he had determined to punish the city of the *Himeræans* that had sided with the enemy, *Sthennius*, one of their orators, asserted that it was unjust, to spare the guilty and punish the innocent. When *Pompey* asked who the guilty were. "Myself, replied the orator, I persuaded my friends, and forced my enemies to act as they have done." *Pompey* pleased with the boldness of the man, forgave him, and pardoned the city. Hearing likewise that his soldiers committed great out-

rages on their march, he ordered their swords to be sealed up in their scabbards, and those who did not keep the seal entire were severely punished.

The affairs of *Sicily* were scarce settled, when *Pompey* was sent over into *Africa* against *Domitius*, who still opposed the dictatorship of *Sylla*, and led an army greater than that formerly commanded by *Marius* in the same situation. The army sent to oppose him consisted of six entire legions, and *Pompey* landed it partly at *Carthage* and partly at *Utica*. After the army were foolishly employed for some days in digging among the ruins of *Carthage* for fancied treasure; *Domitius* at length prepared to give him battle. There happened to be a deep channel between them, and a great storm of wind and rain continued the whole day. *Domitius* therefore seeing no likelihood of coming to an engagement, sounded a retreat. This was the moment *Pompey* thought proper to begin the attack; he ordered his men to pass the ditch, and fall upon the enemy, and thus routed them with great slaughter. Of 20,000 men, it is said there escaped but 3000. His soldiers now began to congratulate him upon the victory; but he refused their acclamations till the enemy's camp was stormed, and *Domitius* slain. After this victory, he easily made himself master of all the neighbouring cities, and king *Hiarbas*, an auxiliary of *Domitius*, being taken prisoner, his kingdom was given to another. Still willing to improve his vic-

torie

ories, A  
conqueri  
he pass  
overthre  
settled th  
he was y

Upon A  
tified to  
to disban  
gion, and  
sent to suc  
claimed  
to disobe  
however,  
and resolv  
stood that  
out to mee  
self among  
young con  
luted him  
Great. B  
of *Pompey's*  
success. V  
opposed it  
persist in hi  
emotion, L  
*Pompey* defi  
his chariot  
gates of th  
them, he wa  
This triu  
more popul  
were pleased  
come to tal

tories, *Pompey* marched forward into *Africa*, conquering all the countries through which he passed, so that in less than forty days he overthrew the *Nunidians*, reduced *Africa*, and settled the dominions of that country, though he was yet but twenty-four years of age.

Upon *Pompey's* return to *Utica*, he was mortified to find that *Sylla* had given him orders to disband his whole army, except one legion, and wait there till another general was sent to succeed him. His soldiers loudly exclaimed against this order, and pressed him to disobey such a severe command. *Pompey*, however, stedfastly resisted their entreaties, and resolved to return. When *Sylla* understood that the whole city designed to march out to meet him, he determined to be himself among the foremost, and embracing the young conqueror with great eagerness, saluted him aloud with the title of *Pompey the Great*. But whatever was his admiration of *Pompey's* valour, he felt some envy at his success. When he desired a triumph, *Sylla* opposed it, and finding the young general persist in his request, he cried out with some emotion, *Let him triumph; let him triumph*. *Pompey* designed upon this occasion, to have his chariot drawn by four elephants; but the gates of the city being too small to admit them, he was obliged to make use of horses.

This triumph served to render him still more popular than before, and the citizens were pleased to see him after the procession come to take his place among the *Roman* knights.

knights. His favour, however, was by no means pleasing to *Sylla*, who, among other mortifications, saw his rival's interest outweigh his own in the election of consuls, *Pompey* having procured that honour for *Lepidus*, notwithstanding all the efforts of *Sylla* in favour of another. This dislike *Sylla* carried with him to the grave; for though he bequeath'd several legacies to all the rest of his friends, *Pompey* was not mentioned in his will.

Shortly after *Sylla's* death, *Pompey* found that in raising *Lepidus* to the consulship, he invested a dangerous enemy with power; for he united the shattered remains of *Marius's* faction, and immediately took up arms in the cause. *Catulus* his colleague was at that time the most esteemed among the *Romans* for his temperance and justice, he strenuously opposed those measures, and *Pompey* threw in all his counsels and interest to turn the scale in his favour.

*Lepidus* having over-run the greatest part of *Italy* with a tumultuous army, at length marched against *Rome*, and sitting down before it, demanded a second consulship. The citizens were now in the utmost consternation, but they soon recovered their spirits, when *Pompey* let them know that he had ended the war without a battle: for *Brutus* the general of *Lepidus*, betraying the army entrusted to him, or being betrayed by them, surrendered himself to *Pompey*, who ordered him to be slain, for which he was severely censured.

*Lepidus*

*Lepidus*  
*Surdinia*

*Dur*  
of *Mar*  
conduct  
was grow  
already  
and eve  
tending,  
ther for  
*Pompey* th  
nity of g  
with the  
of the se  
arrival th  
*Romans* b  
*niards* as  
league w  
revolt. S  
spise the y  
more circ  
temperanc  
mander s  
care.

This wa  
cess; *Ser*  
the *Roman*  
*torius's* ge  
of their m  
success, no  
*Pompey* ma  
lest *Merellus*  
share of th  
other hand

*Lepidus* being thus driven out of *Italy*, fled to *Surdinia*, where he died of a broken heart.

During these transactions, *Sertorius*, one of *Marius's* faction, a man of bravery and conduct, had possessed himself of *Spain*, and was grown formidable to the *Romans*, he had already defeated several inferior commanders, and even *Metellus*, with whom he was contending, seemed by no means his equal, either for stratagems, conduct, or dispatch. *Pompey* therefore thought this a fine opportunity of gathering new lawrels, and procured, with the most sedulous application, a decree of the senate to be sent into *Spain*. Upon his arrival there, the declining interest of the *Romans* began to revive. Such of the *Spaniards* as had not entered into a very strict league with *Sertorius*, began to waver and revolt. *Sertorius*, though he seemed to despise the youth of *Pompey*, behaved now with more circumspection than before, and the temperance and vigilance of this young commander seemed to awaken his caution and care.

This war was carried on with various success; *Sertorius* took the city of *Lauron* from the *Romans*, and *Pompey* overcame two of *Sertorius's* generals, and slew above a thousand of their men. Each side, elated with their success, now desired a general engagement. *Pompey* made haste to engage *Sertorius* alone, lest *Merellus* his colleague should come in for a share of the victory; and *Sertorius*, on the other hand, eagerly desired to engage but one army

army at a time. The issue of this battle was doubtful, one wing on each side was victorious, but of the two generals, *Sertorius* had the greatest honour, as he fought in the conquering wing on his side, whereas *Pompey* fought in that which was routed on the other. From this battle *Pompey* escaped with some difficulty, he was engaged for some time in single combat with a man of gigantic stature, as they fought in close engagement, *Pompey* received a slight wound, but he had the good fortune to cut off his adversary's hand. After this, being attacked by a great number of the enemy at once, he was obliged to fly, and quitting his horse, while the Barbarians were quarrelling with each other for the golden trappings with which it was adorned, *Pompey* had the good fortune to make his escape. The next day each army drew out a second time to dispute the victory, but *Metellus* coming up to *Pompey's* assistance, *Sertorius* declined the engagement.

In this manner *Sertorius* continued to alarm and harrafs the *Roman* generals, by cutting off their provisions and wasting the country. At length therefore he drove them out of that part of *Spain* which was committed to their care, and forced *Pompey* to send to the senate for a fresh supply of men and money. What might have been the success of another campaign is hard to tell, but in the mean time *Sertorius* was treacherously murdered by some of his own party. *Perpenna* one of the conspirators undertook to supply this general's place,

place, by presumpt sent out orders to try. *Per* them, w the rest o a total ov were co *Perpenna* offering t personag *Sertorius*. ordered h to be bur After *Spain*, he at the tim lion, and masters. gained a enemy; this over who rout on which that *Cra* *ators in* *war by* *pleased a* *suspicion* *merly do* *quering* *therefore* *congratul*



place, but *Pompey* finding him ignorant and presumptuous laid a snare to surprize him. He sent out a detachment of ten cohorts, with orders to disperse themselves through the country. *Perpenna* brought out his army to pursue them, when *Pompey* suddenly appearing with the rest of his forces, attacked and gave him a total overthrow. Most of the generals who were conspirators were slain in battle, and *Perpenna* himself being taken prisoner, and offering to make a discovery of all the great personages in *Rome* who were concerned with *Sertorius*, *Pompey*, without reading the letters, ordered him to be put to death, and the letters to be burnt.

After *Pompey* had thus settled the affairs of *Spain*, he returned with his army to *Italy*, just at the time when the slaves had risen in rebellion, and had shaken off the yoke of their masters. *Crassus* who was sent against them gained a victory, and slew 12,300 of the enemy; 5000 of those wretches who escaped this overthrow fell into the hands of *Pompey*, who routed and entirely destroyed them. Upon which in his letters he informed the senate, that *Crassus* indeed had overthrown the *Gladiators* in battle, but that he had plucked up the war by the roots. The senate seemed highly pleased at his successes, but still entertained a suspicion that he would act as *Sylla* had formerly done, and only make use of his conquering army to oppress them. Of these therefore who went out to meet him, and congratulate his success, as many were induced by

by fear as by affection. *Pompey* however removed their suspicions, by declaring, that after his triumph he would disband his army. But still he affected popularity beyond what was consistent with public security, and to strengthen his interest, entered into a strict friendship with *Craſſus*, who by his assistance was elected his colleague in the consulship. To ingratiate himself still farther with the people he restored the tribunitial power, which had been abolished by *Sylla*, and himself leading his horse in his hand into the forum, demanded in the form used by the *Roman* knights upon such occasions, to be dismissed from being obliged to serve in the wars for the future. This seeming humility and obedience to the laws gave the people infinite satisfaction, and they were so transported with joy, that there was no silencing their exclamations.

But *Craſſus* and he were too much rivals for power to be long upon good terms with each other, the misunderstanding between them every day encreased and threatened dangerous consequences to the republic. In this threatening calamity, *Caius Aurelius*, a *Roman* knight, ascending the rostrum, declared, that *Jupiter* in a dream had warned him to tell the consuls, that they should not quit their office till they were reconciled. Upon this occasion *Pompey* was silent, but *Craſſus* giving him the hand of friendship, openly professed his satisfaction in first endeavouring to be reconciled to a man, who, while but a boy, was honoured with two triumphs. Upon this they were reconciled



POMPEY  
to be exc



*POMPEY leading his horse, desires  
to be excused from serving in the Wars*



1  
cited and la  
this appear  
seen in pu  
such a train  
of the pop  
spect.

A new  
draw Pomp  
The Cilicia  
Rome, had g  
last had the  
chant ships  
lay waste i  
were joined  
tune, and w  
watch-towe  
Their fleet  
ships, and  
hundred ci  
then held  
commerce,  
markets.  
igence, de  
recover the  
pirates; he  
with the su  
with unlim  
continent,  
longs from  
hundred sh  
foot, and 5  
vators for  
in puruan  
his forces in

ciled and laid down their office. *Craſſus* after this appeared as uſual, but *Pompey* was ſeldom ſeen in public, and then only attended by ſuch a train, as might repreſs the familiarity of the populace, and inſpire them with reſpect.

A new opportunity ſoon after offered to draw *Pompey* from this ſtate of inactivity. The *Cilician* pirates, during the troubles of *Rome*, had greatly encreaſed in power, and at laſt had the boldneſs not only to attack merchant ſhips at ſea, but to make deſcents, and lay waſte iſlands and ſea-port towns. They were joined and proteſted by perſons of fortune, and were poſſeſſed of ſeveral arsenals, watch-towers and harbours well fortified. Their fleet conſiſted of above a thouſand ſhips, and they had taken no leſs than four hundred cities; they plundered temples till then held ſacred, deſtroyed all manner of commerce, and raiſed the price of the *Roman* markets. The people therefore, in this exigence, determined to ſend forth *Pompey* to recover the dominions of the ſea from the pirates; he was accordingly inveſted not only with the ſupreme command of the fleet, but with unlimited power by land over the whole continent, for the ſpace of four hundred furlongs from the ſea. He was allowed five hundred ſhips, and an army of 120 000 foot, and 5000 horſe, with twenty-four ſenators for his lieutenants, and two queſtors. In purſuance of this grant, *Pompey* divided his forces into thirteen parts, allotting to each  
a ſeparate

a separate station in the *Mediterranean*, and thus, as it were, enclosed the enemy on every side, and took numbers of them prisoners. As for those who withdrew themselves betimes and escaped his pursuit, they took refuge in *Cilicia*, where they kept themselves concealed. In the mean time, in less than forty days, he cleared the seas of all that remained. Then returning to *Rome* to resent some ill usage he had received from *Piso* the consul, who had wasted his stores and discharged his seamen, he was received with such applause, and his injuries so warmly resented by the populace, that *Piso* was in great danger of losing his consulship. But on this, as upon all other occasions, *Pompey* behaved with great moderation, prevented their intentions, and having obtained what stores and men he had occasion for, went to prosecute the yet unfinished war. Taking *Athens* in his way, he there met with honours due to his merits, and proceeding forward, and treating such of the pirates as fell into his hands with clemency, only seizing their ships and persons, he induced several of the rest yet untaken to deliver themselves up to his mercy. The greatest part however still continued unsubdued, conveying their families and treasures into a castle about Mount *Taurus*, while they themselves having manned their galleys, embarked at a post in *Cilicia*, and gave *Pompey* battle. The *Roman* general was attended with his usual good fortune, they were totally routed, and

compelled  
and posse

This v  
space of  
20 000 pr  
torious g  
with true  
man by  
so by hab  
determine  
sea to lan  
cent and  
them to tr  
dispersed  
of *Asia*, a  
but for wh  
envied his  
with regar  
*Metellus* w  
*Pey* was ge  
next to *Ci*  
these rove  
into his har  
They ther  
and he sen  
oppose the  
ing storme  
fired, put  
proached *C*  
fered to re  
When th  
it was prop  
*Pompey* sho  
granes and  
VOL. V.



compelled to deliver themselves, their towns, and possessions to the conqueror.

This war was begun and finished in the space of three months, while not less than 20 000 prisoners awaited the will of the victorious general. On this occasion he behaved with true greatness of mind, considering that man by nature is not savage, but rendered so by habit, place, and vicious company, he determined to remove the prisoners from the sea to land, and give them a relish for innocent and domestic pleasures, by accustoming them to trades and agriculture. He therefore dispersed them among the least populous cities of *Asia*, an action highly deserving praise, but for which he was reproached by such as envied his virtues, or his fortune. His conduct with regard to *Metellus* was not less censured. *Metellus* was prætor in *Crete*, at the time *Pompey* was general against the pirates. *Crete* was next to *Cilicia*, the chief place of refuge for these rovers, and *Metellus* treated all that fell into his hands without the least share of mercy. They therefore applied to *Pompey* for pity, and he sent *Octavius* one of his lieutenants to oppose the prætor's cruelty; but *Metellus* having stormed the place to which they had retired, put them all to death, and then reproached *Octavius* publickly for having offered to resist him.

When the war of the pirates was concluded, it was proposed by one of the tribunes, that *Pompey* should command the war against *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, retaining still the so-

verèignty of the seas as before. This was investing him with an absolute dominion over almost the whole *Roman* empire, and robbing *Lucullus*, the former general, who had almost conquered these two monarchs, of all the glory he was about to acquire. This proposal was very disagreeable to the senate, who saw the dangerous consequence attending such an encrease of power, but fearing to oppose the law, it was past with the votes of all the people. *Pompey*, upon receiving news of the honours which were conferred upon him by the city, behaved with great dissimulation, *What an endless succession of labours*, cried he, *am I obliged to undergo! shall I never be out of the reach of envy, and live in rural and domestic retirement?* but his behaviour soon discovered his real disposition, he instantly sent out edicts into all quarters, commanding the soldiers to repair to his standard. He next summoned all the tributary kings, and in every place altered what had been done and established by *Lucullus*. At length the two *Roman* generals agreed to have an interview, *Lucullus* had the superiority with respect to age and a former consulship, but *Pompey* was respectable for his former triumphs. Their conversation began with much complaisance, but as the conference grew warm, they observed no decency or moderation. They reproached each other in the severest terms, *Pompey* upbraided the avarice of *Lucullus*, and *Lucullus* objected *Pompey's* ambition. The friends of each could hardly restrain them from violence, and

and  
and a  
*Luc*  
march  
the h  
2000  
a batt  
impre  
desitti  
appro  
of thi  
appea  
want v  
dered  
the car  
After  
secured  
round  
days,  
troops,  
and un  
ever st  
him ne  
midnig  
attack  
gave li  
being  
of *Mit*  
*Romans*  
darts w  
*Romans*  
in upon  
sistance,  
sued, i

and both separated with mutual animosity, and a desire of revenge.

*Lucullus* departed for *Rome*, and *Pompey* marched against *Mithridates*, who, tho' at the head of an army of 30,000 foot, and 2000 horse, would not venture to hazard a battle. He had pitched his camp upon an impregnable mountain, but finding himself destitute of water, he forsook it upon *Pompey's* approach. *Pompey* immediately took possession of this situation, and conjecturing from the appearance of the place, that it could not want water if properly sought after, he ordered his men to sink wells, by which means the camp was soon very plentifully supplied. After this he pursued the enemy, who had secured his camp by a strong fortification round it; here he besieged him for forty five days, till he at last fled away with his best troops, having previously killed all the sick and unserviceable. The *Roman* general however still followed him close, and overtook him near the banks of the *Euphrates*. It was midnight when *Pompey* drew up his army to attack the fugitive king, the moon however gave light enough to distinguish objects, but being very low and just setting, the army of *Mithridates* mistook the shadows of the *Romans* for their persons, and flung their darts without any manner of execution. The *Romans* perceiving this with loud shouts, ran in upon them, and meeting with a feeble resistance, a total rout of the Barbarian army ensued, 10,000 were slain upon the spot, and

the camp itself was taken. As for *Mithridates*, he at the beginning of the engagement forced his way with a body of 800 horse through the *Roman* army, and thus escaped their fury.

This party however soon forsook their monarch, and he now wandered with only three persons in his retinue to seek a place of refuge and safety. Among this number was *Hypsicratia* his concubine, who followed him in all the vicissitudes of his fortune, and shared all his dangers. She was a woman of masculine fortitude, she always dressed like a *Persian* horseman, neither could the length of the way fatigue her, nor her lord's misfortunes abate her fidelity. At length they came to the castle of *Mora*, where the king had lodged his money and other things of the greatest value. Here he divided the residue of his fortune among his few surviving friends, and furnished each with a deadly poison to secure them against being made involuntary captives. From thence he sought for protection from *Tigranes*, his former ally, but was ungenerously denied, and even a reward offered for killing him, upon which he passed the head of the *Euphrates*, and directed his flight through the country of *Colchis* \*.

In the mean time *Pompey* advanced into *Armenia*, where he was joined by *Tigranes* the younger, who had revolted from his father.

\* See a description of the present state of this country in the *World Displayed*, vol. xv. pag 90

Through

Through  
ther, a  
through  
howeve  
of the  
a *Roman*  
render  
the tren  
dered to  
appearin  
adem an  
ing mea  
*Pompey*  
the hand  
on his lo  
countrie  
possessed  
ed, but  
expeditio  
him, onl  
as a fine  
*Romans*,  
session of  
condition  
ed, but t  
talked of  
protection  
this, mad  
to adorn  
*Afraniu*  
*Armenia*,  
*Mithridate*  
the *Alban*  
pass throu

Through this country they marched on together, and received the homage of every city through which they past. The old king however hearing of the humane disposition of the *Roman* general, submitted his city to a *Roman* garrison, and went in person to surrender himself to *Pompey*. He came as far as the trenches on horseback, but then being ordered to alight, he laid down his arms, and appearing before the general, took off his diadem and laid it at his feet. He was going meanly to fall prostrate at his knees, but *Pompey* prevented him, and taking him by the hand placed him on his right, and his son on his left. He was then informed that the countries of which he had been formerly dispossessed by the *Romans* must be utterly resigned, but that all he had preserved till *Pompey's* expedition against him should be secured to him, only paying the sum of 6000 talents, as a fine for the injuries done by him to the *Romans*, and that his son should be put in possession of the kingdom of *Sophene*. To these conditions the old king very readily consented, but the son was entirely dissatisfied, and talked of applying to some other *Roman* for protection. *Pompey*, upon being informed of this, made him a prisoner, and reserved him to adorn his triumph.

*Afranius* being entrusted with the care of *Armenia*, *Pompey* went himself in pursuit of *Mithridates*. In his march he was attacked by the *Albanians*, who at first gave him leave to pass through their country, but thought to



surprize him while his army were busy in celebrating a festival in honour of *Saturn*; but this only served to hasten their destruction, they were routed near the river *Araxes*, and great numbers of them slain. The *Iberians* also shared the same fate, and *Pompey* after receiving their submission continued his pursuit. He had however scarce begun to prosecute this expedition, when he was told the *Albanians* had a second time revolted. He again therefore marched back to punish them, and having overthrown them in a pitched battle, in which he killed the king's brother with his own hand, he retired into the lesser *Armenia*.

Here he gave audience to those ambassadors who sought the friendship of *Rome*, and sent out *Afranius* against the king of *Parthia*, who had plundered and harrassed the subjects of *Tigranes*. The *Parthians* were defeated, and their army pursued to the confines of their own dominions.

Among the castles of *Mithridates* which submitted to the arms of *Pompey*, was one commanded by *Stratonice* the king's favourite concubine. This lady, upon delivering it up into the possession of the *Roman* generals, offered him many presents of great value, but he received only such as he thought might serve to adorn the temples, or add to the splendour of his triumph. In the same manner the king of *Iberia* presented him with a bedsted, a table, and a chair of state, all of gold, but he delivered them to the questors for the use of the commonwealth; he seemed to set more value

value  
he seized  
were  
most  
were  
ury.

*Pompey*  
where  
came to  
ted the  
condem  
to estab  
honours  
have be  
bly con  
with his  
ing his  
and mal  
man em  
pursuit  
that he l  
versary  
and then  
the Red  
dition.

He no  
ing it wi  
it into th  
conquere  
of the J

\* *Plutarch*  
expedition



value upon the papers of *Mithridates*, which he seized upon in one of his castles. These were said to contain a diary of that king's most private transactions, many of which were marked with cruelty, injustice, or luxury.

*Pompey's* moderation however was not every where equal. Continuing his pursuit till he came to the city of *Anisus*, he there committed the same fault which he had formerly condemned in *Lucullus*. He took upon him to establish laws, and distribute rewards and honours, which, according to custom, should have been deferred till the war was honourably concluded. But his ambition encreasing with his successes, he had thoughts of extending his conquests to the ocean on every side, and making that alone the bounds of the *Roman* empire. Therefore discontinuing his pursuit of *Mithridates*, he told his soldiers, *that he left his flying enemy a more terrible adversary than even himself*, meaning famine; and then raised his camp, designing to bring the *Red Sea* within the compass of his expedition.

He now therefore invaded *Syria*, and finding it without any lawful prince, he brought it into the form of a *Roman* province; he also conquered *Judæa*, and took *Aristobulus* king of the *Jews* prisoner \*. Here he spent the time

\* *Plutarch* here takes no notice that in this expedition he took the temple of *Jerusalem* by storm,

time in administering justice, and deciding controversies between kings and states. His clemency and justice were equally conspicuous, and tho' he seldom punished offences, he sent few of those who made their complaints to him discontented away. By this means he rendered the avarice and insolence of those which were about him more supportable to the people, and tho' *Demetrius* his freedman was both haughty and arrogant, yet *Pompey's* humility seemed to allay the envy his behaviour produced.

During this interval *Mithridates* attempted to revive the war, and it was reported that he intended at the head of thirty thousand men to invade *Italy*. *Pompey* however instead of pursuing him, went against the king of *Arabia Petraea*, much against the inclination of the soldiers, who desired to be revenged upon *Mithridates*. In this perplexity fortune that had hitherto assisted him, seemed now to be peculiarly favourable. As he was encamped near the city of *Petraea*, news was brought him that *Mithridates* had laid violent hands upon himself, and that *Pharnaces* his

storm, which cost the lives of above 12,000 *Jews*: but on *Pompey's* entering the temple, he had the moderation to forbear taking the sacred utensils, and the treasures belonging to that noble and venerable structure. *Aristobulus* presented him a golden vine valued at 500 talents, which *Strobo* says, he saw in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* at *Rome*.

son,

son, w  
himself  
of *Rome*  
seemed  
tion of  
of their

The  
marched  
presente  
sents, an  
father,  
turned a  
all thing  
state and  
he gave  
cession of  
ed with d  
at that ti  
chievemen  
again en  
Sophists,  
At *Athen*  
and gave  
and beau  
drew nea  
domestic  
professed  
by concu  
dishonour  
out givin  
bill of di  
Upon h  
were again  
lest he tho

son, who had revolted from him, possessed himself of the kingdom under the protection of *Rome*. Upon this news the whole army seemed to exult, considering the single destruction of *Mithridates* as equivalent to thousands of their enemies.

The war being thus at an end, *Pompey* marched from *Arabia* to meet *Pharnaces*, who presented him with several magnificent presents, and among the rest, the body of his father, from which the humane conqueror turned aside with horror, and having settled all things, marched homewards in the utmost state and solemnity. At the city of *Mytelene*, he gave the citizens their freedom at the intercession of *Theophanes* the philosopher, and listened with delight to the contests of the poets, who at that time had no other subject than the achievements of himself. At *Rhodes* he was again entertained with the declamations of the Sophists, and gave a talent to each of them. At *Athens* he behaved in the same manner, and gave them fifty talents towards repairing and beautifying their city. And now as he drew nearer home, he expected to enjoy those domestic pleasures, of which he was ever a professed admirer; but he was soon convinced by concurrent reports that his wife *Mucia* had dishonoured his bed, and he therefore, without giving any public reasons, sent her a bill of divorce.

Upon his approach, the citizens of *Rome* were again under their usual apprehensions, lest he should keep his army to oppress the liberties

berties of the people. But he soon dispelled their fears, for upon entering *Italy*, he made an oration to his army suitable to their circumstances, desiring them to disperse to their several homes, only remembering to meet again at his triumph. Upon the news of which every city strove which should do him most honours, and he approached *Rome* at the head of a greater number of men than those he had disbanded.

As it was not permitted any general before his triumph to enter the city, *Pompey* desired that the election of consuls, which was then going forward, might be postponed till after his triumph, being desirous to be present in order to influence the election in favour of *Piso*, one of the candidates. But this request was opposed by *Cato*, whose prudence it was impossible to deceive, and whose justice it was impossible to pervert. *Pompey* was not a little surprized at the fortitude of this patriot, and willing to attach him to his interest, desired one of *Cato's* nieces in marriage. This offer however that philosopher nobly rejected, contrary to the solicitations of his wife and the rest of his family, who insisted on the honour of an alliance with *Pompey* the Great. But *Pompey*, some time after being detected in bribing the votes of the people, was openly reproached; upon which *Cato* observed to his wife and family, *Now had we contracted an alliance with Pompey, we should have shared in his dishonour too.* This they acknowledged as a just reproach upon their ill-judged am-

bition.

bition, a  
their hon

The s  
continued  
thing eve  
conquere  
led captiv  
all consp  
the pagea  
was the  
triumphe  
now was

When  
*Pompey* ha  
he met w  
the senate  
poused hi  
*Pompey*.  
upon to re  
stration, a  
those decre  
be re-estab  
ered in the  
to them he  
tions, and  
bune, ing  
and makin

During  
had return  
didate for  
however,  
*Crassus*, wh  
*Rome*, he k  
ship of one

bition, and allowed him the merit of saving their honour and his own.

The splendour of *Pompey's* triumph, which continued two days, was greater than any thing ever before exhibited at *Rome*; cities conquered, kingdoms subdued, monarchs led captive, hostages sent by seditious princes, all conspired to swell the magnificence of the pageant: but what still added to its lustre, was the general himself, who had formerly triumphed over two parts of the globe, and now was victorious over the third.

When *Lucullus* returned from *Asia*, where *Pompey* had treated him with great indignity, he met with an honourable reception from the senate, which now, on *Pompey's* return, espoused his interest in opposition to that of *Pompey*. That general was again prevailed upon to reassume his authority in the administration, and being assisted by *Cato*, procured those decrees which his rival had repealed to be re-established. *Pompey* being thus overpowered in the senate, had recourse to the people; to them he sued with the most humble prostrations, and being assisted by *Clodius* the tribune, ingratiated himself by proposing laws, and making speeches.

During these transactions, *Julius Caesar* had returned from *Gaul*, and now stood candidate for his first consulship. Observing, however, the enmity between *Pompey* and *Crassus*, who were now the leading men of *Rome*, he knew not how to acquire the friendship of one without forfeiting the favour of the

the other. With an artifice therefore peculiar to himself, he undertook to reconcile them to each other; and to his success in this he owed his consulship. Being now possessed of the authority he sought after, he began immediately to ingratiate himself with the people, and proposed such laws as he thought would be most pleasing to the vulgar. In this *Cato* the friend of the commonwealth opposed him, but he had the art to procure *Pompey* to second his proposals, and soon after to secure his alliance; for *Pompey* married *Julia* his daughter, although she was before married to another.

And now all order was banished from the administration, *Pompey* filled the city with soldiers, and carried all things by violence. Every law that before had been repealed by *Lucullus*, was now again confirmed; the consul colleague with *Cæsar* was basely insulted; the tribunes who defended him wounded, and *Cæsar* was continued for five years as general against the *Gauls*. *Cato*, with all the inspiration of wisdom, continually foretold the calamities that approached the commonwealth. *Lucullus* retired from business to enjoy his luxuries without molestation, and *Pompey* gave himself up to effeminacy, reveling with his young wife, pursuing pleasure at his country-seats, and neglecting the business of the state.

In the mean time *Clodius*, a man equally vicious and abandoned, swayed the populace

at pleasure  
own in  
tey. by  
erful.  
this g  
by him  
dus, an  
his rep  
that P  
house,  
per exp  
senate,  
created  
two fro  
ready e  
nate. V  
party,  
them th  
the peop  
expected  
fray ensu  
ed, and  
stored by  
reconcile  
on this en  
care of  
failing h  
frica, sup  
performed  
embark in  
a great sto  
weighing  
them to P  
for me to  
VOL. V



at pleasure; and finding the strength of his own interest, turned that power against *Pompey*. by whose interest he was first made powerful. *Cicero*, who was once the friend of this general, and had been basely forsaken by him, was now banished by means of *Clodius*, and this insolent tribune at length carried his reproaches and attempts to such an height that *Pompey* no longer dared to leave his house, but staid at home, contriving the proper expedients to allay the displeasure of the senate, which his former conduct had justly created. In this exigence, the recalling *Cicero* from banishment was thought the only ready expedient to reconcile him to the senate. With this view *Pompey*, with a strong party, entered the Forum, bringing with them the brother of *Cicero*, who petitioned the people for his return. *Clodius*, as was expected, offered to interrupt him, and a fray ensuing, several of his party were wounded, and others slain. *Cicero* being thus restored by a decree of the people, immediately reconciled the senate to *Pompey*, who was upon this entrusted by the senate with the whole care of providing the city with corn, and sailing himself into *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Africa*, supplied great quantities. Having thus performed his duty, as he was just ready to embark in order to return home, there arose a great storm, which deterred his pilots from weighing anchor; but *Pompey* commanded them to proceed, crying out, *It is necessary for me to go, but not necessary for me to live.*

His ardour was seconded by fortune, and he returned to see the city rendered plentiful by his industry, and enjoying the effects of his care.

All this while *Cæsar* was growing powerful by his conquests in *Gaul*, and at the same time craftily undermining the state at home. His design was not so much to subdue the savage inhabitants where he fought, as to inure his soldiers to hardships and war. The treasures he acquired abroad were dispersed in bribes at home, so that upon his crossing the *Alps*, in order to winter in *Luca*, he was attended by no less than 200 senators, and *Pompey* and *Crassus* among the number. It was here he entered into a strict agreement with these two generals, by which it was resolved, that they two should stand for the consulship together the next year; and that, when elected by his assistance, they should confirm him in his command for five years more.

In this arbitrary disposal of places, when the consuls came to be chosen, while all others declined to oppose them, *Lucius Domitius*, by the persuasion of *Cato*, was encouraged to stand candidate. The two generals, conscious of *Cato's* influence, and fearing lest he should draw over the sober part of the commonwealth to espouse his interest, resolved to oppose *Domitius* by force, and sending a party of men to meet him upon his entrance into the Forum, they slew the torch-bearer, and wounded *Cato* who attempted to defend him. Having thus seized the consulship,

they

they  
Cato w  
contin  
ria and  
to Pom  
of sold  
Pomp  
a loose  
cence;  
theatre  
pence,  
phants;  
vinces t  
country  
actually  
He was  
nion am  
which w  
him, the  
the most  
The d  
great bo  
the destr  
soon after  
could mo  
for power  
Nothing  
reigned i  
corrupted  
disband hi  
ting Pomp  
This reme  
disease, w  
and it was

they used their power without moderation. *Cato* was refused the prætorship, and *Cæsar* continued in his command. To *Crassus*, *Syria* and the *Parthian* war were assigned; and to *Pompey*, all *Africa*, *Spain*, and four legions of soldiers.

*Pompey* once more reinstated in power, gave a loose to his love of pleasure and magnificence; he entertained the people at a new theatre which he had built at an immense expence, with the combats of lions and elephants; he committed the care of his provinces to his favourites, and went from one country-seat to another with his wife, who actually loved, or pretended to love him. He was indeed said to be a pleasing companion among the sex; and *Julia* till she died, which was in child-bed, appeared to regard him, though then in the decline of life, with the most tender affection.

The death of *Julia* seemed to destroy one great bond of public tranquillity; but by the destruction of *Crassus*, who was killed soon after, every check was taken away that could moderate the ambition of the two rivals for power.

Nothing now but anarchy and confusion reigned in the city. *Cæsar's* money had corrupted the greatest number; he refused to disband his army, and some talked of creating *Pompey* dictator in order to oppose him. This remedy, which seemed as bad as the disease, was by no means agreeable to *Cato*, and it was at last proposed to create him con-

ful without any colleague. As this was thought a very extraordinary proposal, when Cato stood up to speak to it, all expected he was going to oppose it, and listened with profound silence; but they were much surprized when he told them, *That tho' he would never have been the author of such a proposal himself, yet now that it was propounded he was willing to comply, adding, that any form of government was better than anarchy; and that none was fitter than Pompey to ride out such a tempest.* The consul was therefore confirmed by unanimous consent, and Pompey chosen consul without a colleague. When Pompey offered to return thanks to Cato for this favour, No Pompey, cried the philosopher, *not you, but the commonwealth have been the objects of my concern, you may command my advice, but the republic shall have my regard.*

Such was Cato: but Pompey, unmindful of the calamity of the public, began his office by marrying Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio, a young lady of youth, wit, beauty, virtue, and adorned with all the polite accomplishments. She was well skilled in music and geometry, and enlarged her mind with the precepts of philosophy. But notwithstanding all her allurements, the wiser sort were displeased to see their consul unmindful of the public apprehensions, while crowned with garlands, and revelling at nuptial feasts, he forgot the danger of his country. His conduct however, in the consulship, was upon the whole without much in-

justice;

justice  
from  
same  
the e  
demn  
man c  
tempt  
nistrati  
things  
chose h  
had th  
nued to  
to take  
treasury  
Cæsar  
making  
consulsh  
opposed  
expected  
he must c  
vate cap  
seemed r  
had appe  
and his j  
der the p  
for the tw  
Cæsar sent  
Some ti  
dangerous  
at Naples.  
offered sacr  
their exam  
of Italy; a  
bers which

justice; he indeed shielded his father-in-law from a just prosecution; he attempted the same for *Plancus*, but being overpowered by the eloquence of *Cicero*, *Plancus* was condemned: besides this, he treated *Hyppseus*, a man of consular dignity, with unjust contempt: these were the blemishes in his administration; in other respects he managed all things with regularity and prudence. He chose his father-in-law as his colleague, and had the government of his provinces continued to him four years longer, with a power to take 4000 talents yearly from the public treasury to defray the expence.

*Cæsar's* friends were not behind hand in making a similar request, and desired the consulship for him in his absence; but *Cato* opposed this proposal, saying, that if *Cæsar* expected any thing from the citizens of *Rome*, he must disband his army, and come in a private capacity to sue for it. This answer seemed no way displeasing to *Pompey*, who had appeared to solicit in *Cæsar's* behalf, and his jealousy was soon known, when, under the pretence of a *Parthian* war, he sent for the two legions he had lent him, which *Cæsar* sent back very liberally rewarded.

Some time after *Pompey* recovered from a dangerous fit of sickness, which seized him at *Naples*. The citizens upon this occasion offered sacrifices to the gods for his recovery; their example was imitated by all the towns of *Italy*; and wherever he went, the numbers which flock'd to meet him were so great,



that the roads were scarce able to contain them: some with garlands on their heads, others with tapers in their hands, wherever he passed, afforded a most magnificent spectacle: but what seemed to secure his happiness, only contributed to hasten his fall. These rejoicings inflated his pride, and confirmed him in a dangerous security. To this *Appius*, who was just returned from *Gaul*, not a little contributed, by representing *Cæsar* as weak, and hated by his army, and persuading *Pompey* that they would revolt to him upon his first appearance. Thus elated, he smiled at all who but seemed to doubt appearances, adding, that if he but stamp'd with his foot, there would rise up forces enough to oppose his enemies.

While *Pompey* thus consumed the time in empty boasts, *Cæsar* was employed in vigorous preparations. He was continually sending some of his soldiers to vote at all elections, and dispersed bribes among the magistrates of the city. He petitioned the senate for a confirmation of his government; and when refused that, he entreated that *Pompey* his rival might be disarmed as well as he; and being refused this also, he crossed the *Alps* with his army. He again proposed to be tried by the people; and that *Pompey* and he should submit to their judgment; but *Marcellus* the consul rising up, said, he would not hear speeches while an army was impending over their deliberations, and accompanied by the senate, he went publicly through

the city  
army  
In t  
*Cæsar*  
*Ital*,  
directl  
tumult  
all the  
tion fro  
him wh  
other,  
the two  
*Gaul*, a  
the sen  
*Pompey*,  
an iron  
foot, and  
*Pompey* b  
the sena  
power, l  
that the  
to apply  
were no  
fered his  
ed in the  
length, l  
claimed  
command  
clared, t  
judged a  
thus left  
Not lo  
and trea  
humanity



the city, and constituted *Pompey* leader of the army which was to oppose *Cæsar*.

In the mean time, news was brought that *Cæsar* had taken *Arminium*, a strong city in *Ital*, and was marching with all his forces directly towards *Rome*. Nothing now but tumult and confusion was heard in the city; all the senate and magistrates sought protection from *Pompey*. One of the senators asked him what forces he had levied; to which the other, after a pause, replying, that he had the two legions which *Cæsar* sent back from *Gaul*, and of new levies about 30,000 men; the senator cried out with a loud voice, O *Pompey*, thou hast deceived us. Another, in an ironical manner, *bid him stamp with his foot, and raise the forces he had promised*; but *Pompey* bore this raillery with patience, and the senate chose him general with absolute power, by the advice of *Cato*, who observed, *that the authors of great evils know best how to apply the remedy*. The fears of the people were now too great to be allayed, each offered his advice, and the general was distracted in the variety of contending opinions; at length, however, he caused it to be proclaimed that the state was in danger, and commanding all the senate to follow him, declared, that whoever staid behind, would be judged a confederate with the enemy, and thus left the city.

Not long after, *Cæsar* entered the city, and treated all that staid behind with great humanity; and then supplying himself with money

money from the public treasury, set out in pursuit of *Pompey*, who had taken shelter at *Brundisium*, a sea-port of *Italy*. Not judging this a place of safety, upon *Cæsar's* approach he caused the streets to be dug up, and fixed with a number of sharp stakes; and having in three days time embarked his army, and taken in those who guarded the walls, he set sail without further delay. *Cæsar*, when he found the walls without defenders, judged that the enemy was fled, and hastily entering the city to pursue them, had not the inhabitants apprized him of his danger, he would certainly have fallen upon the stakes placed in the different streets to obstruct his progress. Though the art *Pompey* made use of in favouring his escape, deserved applause, yet his abandoning *Italy* at that time did not escape censure; he was master of a strong city, he daily expected forces from *Spain*, and besides had the command at sea. Be this as it will, *Cæsar* in sixty days became master of all *Italy* without bloodshed, and *Pompey* headed a new-raised army in *Asia*.

The army of *Pompey* both by sea and land was very considerable. The flower of the *Roman* nobility, and the most distinguished youth, several kings and princes of other nations; but still more than all the rest, *Brutus*, *Cicero*, and *Cato* were among the number that espoused his side and the cause of liberty. To the authority of these, *Cæsar* opposed clemency and moderation; having de-

feated

feated  
command  
mon sol  
returnin  
he dispa  
propos  
his form  
both sho  
and retu  
tual slau  
consider  
*Pompey*  
possessed  
secure  
commun  
measure  
being d  
art to br  
one of th  
his whol  
and it w  
prosecut  
lost for  
fidence  
they cor  
even hin  
readines  
now the  
*Cæsar*, v  
*Thessaly*,  
provision  
hazard a  
the enem  
to attack

feated *Pompey's* forces in *Spain*, he left the commanders at liberty, and took the common soldiers into his own army; and then returning through *Italy* to face *Pompey* in *Asia*, he dispatched a messenger once more with proposals for a conference, desiring to renew his former friendship with solemn oaths, that both should in three days disband their forces, and return together uncontaminated with mutual slaughter. But these proposals were only considered as artifices to gain time; and *Pompey* marching down towards the sea coast, possessed himself of every place that might secure his land forces, and keep an open communication with his fleet. This prudent measure involved *Cæsar* in the utmost distress; being destitute of provisions, he tried every art to bring his adversary to a battle, and in one of those efforts, was in danger of losing his whole army, he having 2000 men killed; and it was his opinion, that if *Pompey* had prosecuted his victory, the whole had been lost for ever. This advantage raised the confidence of *Pompey's* party even to arrogance; they concluded their labours at an end, and even hired houses near the Forum to be in readiness to sue for offices in the state. It was now therefore determined to go in pursuit of *Cæsar*, who had retired with his forces into *Thessaly*, where he might obtain necessary provisions: but still *Pompey* was unwilling to hazard a battle, he chose rather to straiten the enemy by cutting off his resources, than to attack a veteran army, that had already been

been victorious over the fiercest nations in the world. His followers, however, imputed his caution to a desire of prolonging his command, unacquainted with the danger, they were confident of success. Sarcasms were daily thrown out against his delays, and his judgment was at last swayed by the importunity of a crowd.

Both armies were now arrived at the fields of *Pharsalia*, conducted by the two greatest generals alive: *Pompey* at the head of all the *Roman* nobility, the flower of *Italy* and *Asia*, all armed in the cause of liberty. *Cæsar* at the head of a body of troops firmly attached to his interests, men who had faced every appearance of danger, were long inured to hardship, and had grown from youth to age in the practice of arms, both camps lay in sight of each other. In this manner they spent the night; when next morning, as *Cæsar's* army were going to decamp, word was brought him that a tumult and murmur was heard in *Pompey's* camp as of men preparing for battle. Another messenger came soon after with tidings that the first ranks were already drawn out. *Cæsar* now seemed to enjoy the object of his wishes. "Now, says he to his soldiers, the wish'd-for day is come, when you shall fight with men, not with want and hunger." His soldiers, with joy in their looks, went each to his rank like dancers upon a stage; while *Cæsar* himself, at the head of his tenth legion, a body of men that had never yet been broken, with

silence

silence a  
While  
on horse  
ing the  
impatien  
orders th  
and keep  
enemy.

men, *Cæ*  
And now  
battle o  
proached  
ment, ex  
tators, w  
scene of  
grieving  
not enoug  
could not  
madness  
passion, u  
by the fa  
ner, spru  
for mutua

While  
tween eit  
*Roman*, i  
of 120 m  
They cut  
their swo  
but *Crest*  
ran him t  
came out  
mean tim  
*Cæsar*, an

silence and intrepidity, waited for the onset. While *Cæsar* was thus employed, *Pompey* on horseback viewed both armies; and seeing the steady order of the enemy, with the impatience of his own soldiers, he gave strict orders that the vanguard should make a stand, and keeping close in their ranks receive the enemy. *Pompey's* army consisted of 45,000 men, *Cæsar's* not quite half that number. And now the trumpets sounded the signal for battle on both sides, and both armies approached each other. All were in employment, except some *Roman* and *Grecian* spectators, who stood at a distance to view this scene of civil slaughter. Such could not avoid grieving to think, that the whole world was not enough for the ambition of two men; they could not help repining at the blindness and madness of human nature, thus hurried on by passion, upon seeing two armies marshalled by the same rules, armed in the same manner, sprung from the same city, thus engaged for mutual destruction.

While but yet a little space remained between either army, *Caius Crastinus*, a devoted *Roman*, issued from *Cæsar's* army at the head of 120 men, and began the engagement. They cut through the opposite ranks with their swords, and made a great slaughter; but *Crastinus* still pressing forward, a soldier ran him through the mouth, and the weapon came out at the back of his neck. In the mean time *Pompey* designing to encompass *Cæsar*, and to force his horse, which amount-

ed



ed to but a thousand, to fall back upon his infantry, gave orders that his own cavalry, consisting of 7000, should extend itself, and then attack the enemy. *Cæsar* expecting this, had placed 3000 foot in reserve, who rushed out fiercely, and attacked *Pompey's* horse, letting fly their javelins in the faces of the young delicate *Romans*, who, careful of their beauty, turned their backs, and were shamefully put to flight. *Cæsar's* men, without pursuing them, flanked the enemy, now unprotected by their horse, and soon a total rout began to ensue. *Pompey*, by the dust he saw flying in the air, quickly conjectured that his cavalry was overthrown, and overpowered with the event, retired to his camp in agony and silence. In this condition he sat pondering in his tent, till roused by the shouts of the enemy breaking into his camp, he cried out, *What, into the very camp!* and, without uttering any thing more, but putting on a mean habit, to disguise his flight, he departed secretly.

When he had got a small distance from the camp, he quitted his horse, and finding that he was not pursued, walked slowly along, employed in reflections suggested by his present calamities. When he came to the fields of *Tempe*, being very thirsty, he kneeled down, and drank out of the river; then passing on till he came to the sea side, he took shelter in a poor fisherman's cottage for the night. The next morning he went into a very small boat, and rowing up and down

near

near the  
dy to  
ter of  
him and  
fel he f  
*Cornelia*  
count o  
looks so  
starting  
the sea  
fortunate  
her, atte  
*Cornelia*  
bear afflic  
spond of t  
us possible  
was to fa  
Having  
aboard, a  
a city of  
by a few  
senators,  
died a con  
passed wit  
his numero  
adherence.  
again to su  
among his  
*Pompey* shou  
Some were  
those who  
father of *P*  
country, h  
*Pompey* at *R*  
Vol. V.



near the shore, perceived a large ship ready to sail, and making signals to the master of the vessel, he knew *Pompey*, and took him and his company on board. In this vessel he sailed on to *Mytelene*, where his wife *Cornelia* remained, expecting hourly an account of his triumph; but the messengers looks soon discovered her misfortunes, and starting up in an agony of grief, she ran to the sea shore, and threw herself into her unfortunate husband's arms. *Pompey* embracing her, attempted to sooth her grief. *My dear Cornelia*, said he, *it is the duty of mortals to bear afflictions with patience, nor should we despond of the future favours of fortune, since it is as possible to retrieve our former happiness, as it was to fall into the present calamity.*

Having now taken his wife and friends aboard, after some time he landed in *Attalia*, a city of *Pamphylia*. Here he was joined by a few bands of soldiers, and about sixty senators, he was informed that *Cato* had rallied a considerable body of forces, and had passed with them into *Africa*, and found that his numerous fleet still continued steady in its adherence. His fortune now therefore seemed again to smile, and a consultation was held among his friends, upon the country in which *Pompey* should again make head against *Cæsar*. Some were for *Parthia*, others for *Africa*, but those who were for *Egypt* prevailed, as the father of *Ptolemy*, who was then king of that country, had received signal favours from *Pompey* at *Rome*. As soon therefore as it was

determined that *Egypt* should be the place, he set sail in company with his wife *Cornelia*, and safely arrived off the coast of that country. He now sent a messenger to apprise the young king of his arrival, demanding protection and succour. *Photerius* an eunuch, *Theodotus* a rhetorician, and *Achilles* an Egyptian, at that time were entrusted with the administration of the kingdom. These wretches fate in council upon the fate of a man who had filled the whole world with his fame, while he riding at anchor, awaited the result of their deliberations. One was for giving him a favourable reception, another declared against receiving him, but *Theodotus*, to shew the power of his eloquence, undertook to prove, that neither advice was prudent. *By entertaining him they made him their master, and Cæsar their enemy; by repelling him they incurred his enmity, and the displeasure of Cæsar for letting him escape; in short, there was no other expedient but to take away his life, as this would ingratiate them with the victor, and deprive the vanquished of the power of revenge.* adding with a smile, *that dead men cannot bite.* This advice prevailed, and *Achilles* was entrusted with its execution. He, therefore attended by *Septimius*, formerly an officer in *Pompey's* army, and *Salvius* a centurion, with two or three more embarking in a fisherman's boat, made up towards the galley of *Pompey*. When *Pompey* saw such mean preparations for his reception, he was almost induced to go back to sea, and seek refuge in some other country.

country  
come  
in the  
tor.  
him to  
ness of  
reception  
*Cornelia*  
trayed, v  
two line  
who feel  
free.

Between  
a confide  
going for  
offered h  
rupted t  
*Metbinks*  
not we b  
the other  
Finding t  
out a little  
still follow  
as the boat  
ing the cou  
began to r  
*Septimius* co  
run him thr  
*Salvius* did th  
betrayed co  
groaning a  
wounds they  
life in the fi  
day after th

country. But in the interval, the boat being come up, *Septimius* rising first saluted *Pompey* in the *Latin* tongue, with the title of imperator. *Achilles* in the *Greek* language desired him to come aboard, adding that the shallowness of the shore was the cause of such a mean reception. *Pompey* therefore taking leave of *Cornelia*, who lamented him as if already betrayed, went into the *Egyptian* boat, repeating two lines from *Sophocles*, importing, that he who seeks refuge from a tyrant is no longer free.

Betwixt the galley and the shore there was a considerable distance, and as the boat was going forward, *Pompey* perceiving no civility offered him, nor even a word spoke, interrupted the silence by addressing *Septimius*. *Metbinks friend, said he, I should know thee, have not we been fellow soldiers together?* To this the other made no reply, but nodded his head. Finding they continued silent, *Pompey* pulled out a little book and began to read. *Cornelia* still followed her dear husband with her eyes as the boat approached the shore, and perceiving the court coming to meet him, her spirits began to revive, but at that instant she saw *Septimius* come behind him with a sword, and run him through the body. *Achilles* and *Salvius* did the same. *Pompey* finding himself betrayed covered his face with his gown, and groaning a little, resolutely endured the wounds they gave him, and thus ended his life in the fifty ninth year of his age, the very day after the anniversary of his birth. *Corne-*

*lia* from the galley seeing him thus murdered, gave such a shriek, that it was heard to the shore, and the master of the vessel weighing anchor with all speed, she escaped the pursuit of the *Egyptians*.

The murderers cut off *Pompey's* head, and threw the body over-board, leaving it naked upon the shore, to satisfy the curiosity of the *Egyptians*. *Philip* stay'd by the body, and finding the crowd had left it, he searched up and down the shore, and finding some old planks of a fisher-boat, he made a pile. As he was busy in this last office to his master, an old *Roman*, who, in his youth had been the soldier of *Pompey*, asked whose was the pile; which the other informing him, let me too, cried the veteran, let me too have a share in this pious office. 'Tho' destined to live in a strange country, let it be some compensation to my miseries, that I have had the honour of burying the greatest general upon earth.

Not long after this *Cæsar* coming into *Egypt* found all things there in the greatest confusion. Upon his arrival the head of *Pompey* was brought to him, but he turned from it with horror. Upon being presented with *Pompey's* seal, he burst into tears. *Achilles* and *Photinus* were put to death; and *Ptolomy*, being overthrown in battle was never heard of more. *Theopdotus* the rhetorician long continued a vagabond, till *Brutus* finding him in his province in *Asia*, inflicted that punishment he justly deserved. The ashes of *Pompey* were

carried

carried  
countr

If,  
we dra  
expedit  
and the  
manded  
former  
There f  
ence be  
shewed  
attempte  
fene, one  
sprung,  
he almo  
means l  
Greece,  
the pirat  
course of  
to have le  
umph, he  
of the Ro  
was to last  
ferred to th  
tinuance.  
is due to s  
glory of a  
ledge, tha  
Lacedæmon  
city, tho' i  
he had few  
so sooner l  
3300 men,

carried to *Cornelia*, who buried them at a country-seat near *Alba*.

If, in comparing *Pompey* with *Agésilas*, we draw a comparison between their military expeditions, the number of their trophies, and the greatness of the armies they commanded, and of the battles they won, the former was doubtless most distinguished. There seems too to have been a great difference between them in the moderation they shewed to their enemies; for while *Agésilas* attempted to conquer *Thebes* and destroy *Messene*, one the city from which his family sprung, the other the sister colony of *Sparta*, he almost ruined *Sparta* herself, who by his means lost her superiority over the rest of *Greece*. While *Pompey* gave cities to those of the pirates who were willing to change their course of life; and when it was in his power to have led *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* in triumph, he rather chose to render him an ally of the *Romans*, observing, *That a glory which was to last throughout all ages, was to be preferred to that which was to be only of a day's continuance*. But if the prize of military virtue is due to such actions, as are the distinguishing glory of a wise commander, we must acknowledge, that the *Roman* was far superior to the *Lacedæmonian*; for *Agésilas* did not desert his city, tho' it was besieged by 70,000 men, and he had few soldiers to defend it. Yet *Pompey* so soon learnt that *Cæsar*, with a body of 3300 men, had made himself master of a town

in *Italy*, than he was so terrified as to abandon *Rome*. Besides, the principal office of a general, which is to put the enemy under the necessity of fighting when he finds himself the stronger, and not to be forced to come to an engagement when he is the weaker, was well understood by *Agésilas*, who thus kept himself invincible; but here *Pompey* was defective; he could never force *Cæsar* to engage at a disadvantage, but was himself forced by *Cæsar* to hazard all in a battle by land, where he was weakest; by which means *Cæsar* became master of his treasures and provisions, and even of the sea itself. As to their voyages into *Egypt*; one was obliged by necessity to fly thither; but the other went as a mercenary, he having enlisted himself into the service of a barbarous nation, in order to make war on the *Grecians*. And the crime charged on the *Egyptians* in their cruel behaviour to *Pompey*, the *Egyptians* charge upon *Agésilas*; for one was betrayed by those whom he trusted; the other betrayed his trust, by deserting to the enemies of those he had engaged to assist.



A L



was interpreted  
should once  
some time  
slept; and  
that the  
gods.

However  
the very d  
phesus was

T H





THE  
L I F E  
O F  
ALEXANDER.

*PHILIP*, the father of *Alexander*, fell in love with *Olympias*, and married her. When pregnant, *Olympias* dreamed that she was delivered of a thunderbolt, which was interpreted, that the child in her womb should one day prove a conqueror. A dragon some time after was seen near her while she slept; and this gave rise to its being thought that she had intercourse with one of the gods.

However this be, *Alexander* was born on the very day that the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was burnt, and his father *Philip* had obtained

obtained three different victories, from which the soothsayers presaged, that this child would one day become invincible.

*Alexander* would suffer none but *Lyfippus* to make statues of him, and none but *Apelles* to draw his picture: the former accurately expressed the inclination of his head to one side, and the liveliness of his eyes; the other in browner shades drew him like *Jupiter*, with thunderbolts in his hand. It is said also, that his skin, breath, and whole body were so fragrant, as to perfume his cloaths.

In the early part of life, his temperance was very remarkable, pleasure seemed to have no charms for him, and nothing but glory could excite his passions; nor was he contented with mean objects of emulation; for being once asked, whether as he excelled in running, he would not put in for the prize at the Olympic games, he replied, *That he was willing, if he could find kings for his antagonists.*

While yet a boy, he entertained some *Perfian* ambassadors in the absence of his father, and charmed them at once with his politeness, affability, and the wisdom of his enquiries; for he spent not the time in fruitless questions, but asked concerning the manners, productions, and distances of the particular parts from whence they came.

His education was committed to a number of masters; but *Leonidas*, remarkable for his austerity, was his governor, and *Lyfimachus* was appointed to the second station. About this time a very fine horse, afterwards known

by

which  
ould

us to  
es to  
ex-  
side,  
r in  
with  
that  
re fo

e was  
e no  
ould  
ented  
ocing  
run:  
at the  
will-  
s.

Per-  
ther,  
blite-  
nqui-  
tless  
iners,  
cular

mber  
r his  
achut  
About  
nown  
by





*ALEXANDER manages the Horse  
Bucephalus.*

by the na  
the king  
try him in  
vicious an  
dered him  
viceable;  
but resolv  
self; he i  
the bridl  
he percei  
of his ow  
nimble va  
him to ru  
the end  
were surp  
back qui  
his father  
safety, a  
exclaimin  
a comp  
Alexan  
music, an  
ences, t  
should le  
and there  
philosoph  
with a m  
his empl  
native c  
stored to  
who wer  
him Alex  
thics and  
and my

by the name of *Bucephalus*, was brought to the king his father for sale. They went to try him in the field; but there found him so vicious and unmanageable, that *Philip* ordered him to be sent away as utterly unserviceable; *Alexander* would not permit this, but resolved upon managing the horse himself; he immediately ran, and turned with the bridle the animal's head to the sun, for he perceived he was frightened at the motion of his own shadow, and then at one bound nimbly vaulting on his back, and permitting him to run forward at full speed; when at the end of his career, the whole company were surprized to see the prince bring him back quite manageable and tame. The king his father was in raptures at his courage and safety, and kissing him, could not forbear exclaiming, that one kingdom was too small a recompense for so much merit.

*Alexander* had been hitherto taught only music, and other superficial and popular sciences, the king was now willing that he should learn the sublimest parts of wisdom; and therefore sent for *Aristotle*, the greatest philosopher of his time, and rewarded him with a munificence suitable to the dignity of his employment: he ordered that great man's native city *Stagira* to be repeopled; and restored to their habitations all the citizens, who were either sent into exile or slavery. By him *Alexander* was instructed not only in ethics and politics, but in those more difficult and mysterious parts of learning, which were reserved

reserved only for the few, and never communicated but by verbal delivery. And, when many years after, this philosopher had published all those secrets *Alexander* was displeased, assuring him, that he had rather excel the rest of mankind in knowledge than in the extent of his power and dominion. But of all *Alexander's* studies, none pleased him so much as the *Iliad* of *Homer*, which he esteemed, and called a treasury of military knowledge. This he ever had near him, and even slept with it every night under his pillow. His passion for learning attended him in the very midst of his expeditions in *Persia*; and he used often to say, that he had as great a regard for *Aristotle* as for his father *Philip*, for from the one he had received life, but from the other the art of living.

While *Alexander* was yet but sixteen, he served his father as a lieutenant with success, took the chief town of the *Medarans* by storm, and called the city afterwards from his own name, *Alexandropolis*. This early courage made *Philip* so happy, that nothing pleased him more than to hear *Alexander* called king, and himself their general. Soon after, however, he was displeased with his son from a drunken quarrel, in which *Alexander* threw a cup at one of the guests who reflected on his mother. *Philip* attempted to kill him upon the spot, but his foot happening to slip as he was running against him with his sword drawn, *Alexander* and his mother retired from court, one to *Epirus*, and the other to *Illyricum*. He was  
soon

soon a  
mortifi  
for a b  
*Alexan*  
his ow  
fore at  
marry  
his fat  
ness of  
by a m  
he wen  
son's co  
they we  
who wa

*Alexa*  
succeed  
dom on  
by nati  
bore th  
But *Gree*  
ed, was  
state of  
courage  
rians, a  
The *Th*  
they we  
fought  
power o  
defende  
cess, bu  
tacked b  
by the *M*  
citadel  
pieces,



soon after recalled, but only to suffer a second mortification. *Philip* was negotiating a match for a brother of his, by another mother which *Alexander* was apprehensive might prejudice his own interests in the succession, he therefore attempted to interrupt it, by offering to marry the lady himself; this highly displeased his father, who reproached him with meanness of spirit, for offering to degrade himself by a match beneath his rank and birth, and he went so far as to banish or imprison his son's confidants and advisers. But soon after they were released upon the death of the king, who was killed by *Pausanias*.

*Alexander* was but twenty years old when he succeeded to the throne, he found the kingdom on every side surrounded with enemies, by nations that were never subdued, or that bore the *Macedonian* yoke with reluctance. But *Greece*, which had been but lately conquered, was particularly to be dreaded; in this state of danger he began with his natural courage and intrepidity to subdue the barbarians, and to suppress the revolting *Grecians*. The *Thebans* particularly felt his resentment, they were the only state of *Greece* that boldly fought for freedom against the overgrown power of the king's of *Macedon*. They long defended themselves with courage and success, but being overpowered by numbers, attacked by the besiegers from without, and by the *Macedonian* garrison that possessed their citadel within, they were almost all cut to pieces, and their city razed to the ground.

The

The house only of the poet *Pindar* was suffered to stand, and his family remained at liberty, but all the rest to the number of 30,000 were publickly sold for slaves\*.

In the midst of this general desolation there was a transaction which deserves our admiration, both on the side of the conqueror and conquered. As some *Thracian* soldiers had

\* It is impossible for a good-natured mind to reflect on this action without horror; an action that will for ever be an indelible stain on the character of *Alexander*. What a punishment was this for men who were entirely innocent, and had committed no crime against this celebrated conqueror, but that of being singular in boldly defending their liberties! how unjust, how inhuman was it thus to punish their love of liberty, with what is most shocking to great and free born minds! indeed, if we weigh the actions of the great, the admired *Alexander*, in the scale of justice and humanity, we shall find, that instead of the glory, that is too lavishly given him, he ought to be considered as a public robber, or rather as a man who elated by pride, gives full scope to the baleful thirst of power, while his ambition renders him more pernicious to man, and even to whole nations than a furious tempest, and the most baleful effects of a ravaging pestilence. We might have made the same reflection in many parts of the *Roman* history inserted in this work; but to avoid repetition, we chose to place it here.

plundered

plunder  
*Timoclea*  
ravished  
conceal  
had thro  
fects in  
cious ba  
way, sh  
stooping  
bottom,  
stantly e  
her to a  
her bound  
peared w  
not to ex  
even resp  
and wha  
sister to T  
of Chero  
for the lib  
and plea  
doned h  
children

His sev  
measure  
he treat  
selves fo  
*Thebes*, t  
their festi  
ness; he  
duct to  
requests  
that city.

VOL. V

plundered the house of a noble matron named *Timoclea*, the barbarous captain after he had ravished her, demanded if she had any money concealed; to which she replied, that she had thrown her treasure and most valuable effects into a well in the garden. The avaricious barbarian following where she led the way, she conducted him to the edge, where stooping to view the promised treasure at the bottom, she plunged him in, and he instantly expired. The soldiers willing to bring her to an exemplary punishment, conducted her bound before *Alexander*. There she appeared with an heroic intrepidity, which failed not to excite the young king's attention, and even respect. He demanded who she was, and what was her offence. *I am, said she, sister to Theagenes, who commanded in the battle of Cheronea against thy father, and there fell for the liberty of Greece.* *Alexander*, astonished and pleased with her greatness of soul, pardoned her offence, and gave her and her children their liberty.

His severity to the *Thebans* seemed in some measure to have satisfied his resentment, and he treated the *Athenians*, who shewed themselves so deeply concerned at the fate of *Thebes*, that they omitted the celebration of their festivals, not only with lenity but kindness; he even so far regretted his former conduct to *Thebes*, that he ever after granted the requests of such as survived the slaughter of that city.

Soon after the *Grecians* made choice of him for their general against *Persia*; and while he continued in *Greece*, many statesmen and philosophers came to visit him, to satisfy their own curiosity, or gratify his pride. But among this number *Diogenes* never appeared, from whom *Alexander* most impatiently expected a visit; he therefore resolved to visit him. He found this poor philosopher lying on the ground and basking in the sun, and no way attentive to the monarch who came to see him. *Alexander*, willing to interrupt his meditations, asked if he wanted any thing? Only, replied the other, that thou wouldst stand from between me and the sun. The monarch struck with the philosopher's contempt of riches, could not avoid crying out, that if he were not *Alexander*, he could wish to be *Diogenes*.

He now prepared for his expedition into *Persia*, and every omen which at first appeared unfavourable he took care to have explained in his favour. The army destined for the conquest of the world, consisted at most of but 34,000 foot, and 4,000 horse. His funds to support his army were scarcely more promising than their numbers, yet the smallness of his finances did not repress his liberality, to some he gave lands, to others villages, and to others the annual profit of some town or harbour; in this humour of disposing of his whole revenue, he was asked, what he had left for himself? to which he replied, *Hope*.

Thus

im  
he  
hi-  
eir  
But  
ed,  
ex-  
isit  
ing  
and  
e to  
his  
ng?  
ldst  
The  
con-  
out,  
vish

into  
ear-  
ain-  
the  
t of  
His  
more  
hall-  
era-  
illa-  
some  
ispo-  
ked,  
n he

Thus





*ALEXANDER and DIOGENES.*

Thus  
the *Hel*  
ed the  
vy of h  
and suc  
the gen  
a large  
the ba  
*Alexan*  
was rap  
difficul  
defer h  
opposit  
ders fo  
himself  
rified b  
nemy,  
he per  
steep, v  
*thridat*  
both a  
and he  
battle  
met, t  
observ  
the bl  
his sp  
killed  
In the  
passed  
closely  
slaugh  
2000 l  
army  
who d



Thus supplied, and thus resolved, he past the *Hellepont*, and stopt at *Troy*. He honoured the tomb of *Achilles*, and professed his envy of him in having such a friend as *Petroclus*, and such a poet as *Homer*. In the mean time the generals of *Darius* the *Persian* king, with a large army, stood ready to oppose him upon the banks of the river *Granicus*, over which *Alexander* was necessarily to pass. This river was rapid, and the opposite bank craggy and difficult of access, his generals advised him to defer his attempts to force a passage: but in opposition to their remonstrances he gave orders for the enterprize, and entered the river himself with thirteen cohorts of horse, unterrified by the showers of darts flung by the enemy, and the disadvantage of the ground, he persevered, and climbed up the opposite steep, where he was met by *Rhæfates* and *Spithridates*, the two *Persian* commanders, who both attacked him at once. While *Rhæfates* and he were engaged, *Spithridates* lifting his battle ax, struck him such a blow on the helmet, that he cut off the crest; which *Clytus* observing, before the *Persian* could repeat the blow, he run him through the body with his spear, and at the same time, *Alexander* killed the other antagonist with his sword. In the mean time the *Macedonian* phalanx passed the river, while the horse were thus closely engaged. And soon after a total slaughter ensued, 20,000 *Persian* foot, and 2000 horse fell in battle; the whole of their army fled, except the *Grecian* mercenaries, who drawing upon a rising ground, begged

for quarter; this *Alexander* refused to grant, and they were all cut to pieces, but being experienced soldiers and excellent troops, they sold their lives dearly to the victors, and in this attack he had more soldiers killed, than in all the rest of the battle. The spoils of the enemy he ordered to be sent into *Greece*, and divided among the states; and on the bucklers he engraved this inscription, *Alexander the son of Philip, and all the Grecians, except the Lacedæmonians, won these from the barbarians of Asia.*

This conquest secured *Alexander* the maritime power of *Persia*, and soon after he conquered the *Pisidians* and the *Phrygians*, who made head against him. Here it was that he saw the famous chariot of *Gordius* fastened with cords, the knots of which, whosoever should unloose it, it was prophesied should possess the empire of the world. *Alexander*, finding that the ends were secretly folded up in the midst of the knot, cut the thongs asunder with his sword, and then untied it with ease.

In the mean time *Darius* waited his approach, with an army of 600,000 men, yet *Alexander* came on but slowly, being now ill of a fever, which he caught by bathing in the river *Cydnus*. *Darius* attributed the slowness of his motions to fear, and was flattered into a confidence of success by a dream, which he had interpreted in his own favour. *Alexander's* disorder however encreased every day, and none of his physicians had the courage to attempt his cure. At length *Philip*, his friend, resolved, as his case was grown desperate, rather

ther to  
to suffer  
medicin  
he desir  
short tin  
his frien  
*Philip*, v  
him. B  
and pres  
The con  
unsuspec  
very stri  
medicine  
his skill.

During  
*Alexander*  
superior  
ble. Th  
fugitive  
court of  
his army  
might be  
he led hi  
vent the e  
cian, who  
to escape,  
you. His  
*Darius* ma  
ander adva  
rius now to  
army into  
be in a m  
divided.  
declared in

ther to hazard his own credit and life, than to suffer him to perish, and offering him the medicine in a cup, bid him take it boldly, if he desired a speedy recovery. *Alexander* a short time before had received a letter from his friend *Parmenio*, bidding him beware of *Philip*, who was bribed by *Darius* to poison him. But he at once drank off the potion, and presented his physician with the letter. The conscious innocence of the one, and the unsuspecting bravery of the other, formed a very striking scene, but the success of the medicine soon evinced *Philip's* honesty and his skill.

During this transaction, *Darius* waited for *Alexander* in an enclosed country, where the superiority of numbers would be unserviceable. This was easily perceived by *Anytus*, a fugitive from *Greece*, who then resided at the court of *Persia*. He advised him to draw out his army in the open plains, where the enemy might be surrounded; but *Darius* replied, that he led his army into defiles, in order to prevent the enemies escape; *Alas*, cried the Grecian, who knew Alexander, *instead of trying to escape, he is now actually on his march to meet you*. His counsel however was disregarded; *Darius* marched forward to *Cilicia*, and *Alexander* advanced into *Syria* to meet him. *Darius* now too late perceived that he had led his army into a country where his horse would be in a manner unserviceable, and his foot divided. The two armies met, and success declared in *Alexander's* favour, 110,000 of the

the enemy were slaughtered, and *Darius* himself very narrowly escaped. After the battle was over, *Alexander* entered the tent of *Darius*, where he was astonished at the magnificence of the furniture and the attendants, and seeing the utensils all of pure gold, he turned to those about him and said, *These are Darius's ideas of royalty.*

He was soon after informed, that the mother, wife, and two unmarried daughters of *Darius* were taken among other prisoners; and that upon seeing the chariot and bow of *Darius*, they had been unable to restrain their sorrows, concluding him to be dead. *Alexander* rather pitying their distress, than exulting in his good fortune, gave orders to inform them of *Darius's* safety, and of his own desire to treat them with all the respect which they had formerly enjoyed \*. He took care

\* *Plutarch* has here omitted the circumstance of *Alexander's* entering the tent of *Darius*, which being attended with some remarkable circumstances, much to his honour, we shall not only insert, but give a plate of it. Having permitted *Darius's* mother to bury whatever persons she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies of her own country, this prudent princess used that permission only to a few of her near relations. *Alexander* then sent a message to the queens to inform them, that he was coming to pay them a visit, and taking

He-



*ALEXANDER entering the Tent of  
DARIUS.*



care to  
was eve  
them, a  
permitt

*Hephæst*  
tent. T  
*sion* be  
him for  
respects  
*Alexand*  
prostrat  
observe  
hoped t  
raising l  
" said l  
" is an  
fected v  
goodnes  
ing ven  
" ed sh  
" than  
" nero  
" hono  
" fefs r  
" been  
" exte  
" supp  
" tune  
" have  
" us fe



care to perform his promise, their attendants was even superior to what *Darius* had granted them, and nothing indecent or obscene was permitted to approach their retreat. The wife

*Hephæstion*, his favourite with him, went to the tent. They were of the same age ; but *Hephæstion* being the tallest, the queens at first took him for the king, and as such paid him their respects : but some captive eunuchs shewing them *Alexander*, *Syfigambis*, *Darius's* mother, fell prostrate before him, and begging his pardon, observed, that as she had never seen him, she hoped that would plead her apology. The king raising her from the ground, " Dear mother, " said he, you are not mistaken, for he also " is an *Alexander*." *Syfigambis* strongly affected with the proofs he had given her of his goodness and humanity, could not forbear giving vent to her gratitude, " Great prince, cried she, what words shall I find to express my " thanks in a manner answerable to your generosity ! you call me your mother, and still " honour me with the title of queen, but I confess myself your captive. I know what I have " been, and what I am now. I know the whole " extent of my past grandeur, and find I can " support all the weight of my present ill fortune. But it will be glorious for you, as you " have now an absolute power over us, to make " us feel it only by your clemency."

*Alexander*

wife of *Darius* was at that time accounted one of the most beautiful princesses living, and his daughters were not inferior to their parent. But the continence of *Alexander* was equal to his generosity, and he esteemed it a more glorious triumph to conquer himself than his enemies. He would hold a correspondence with no other woman before marriage than *Parfina*, whose learning and knowledge had made a conquest of his affections.

His moderation in diet was not less remarkable; he used to say, that his master *Leonidas* was the best cook, who taught him, by marching before day light to prepare for his dinner, and by dining moderately, to procure an appetite for supper. He was less addicted to wine than was generally thought, his long sittings being rather for the opportunity of conversation than for the sake of drinking. And when business demanded his attendance, neither friends nor pleasures could detain him.

*Alexander*, after comforting the princesses, took *Darius's* son in his arms, and the little child embracing him, without discovering the least horror, *Alexander* seemed highly pleased. In short, he treated these princesses with such humanity, that nothing but the remembrance that they were captives, could have made them sensible of their calamity; and of all the advantages they before possessed, nothing was wanting with regard to *Alexander*, but that full trust and confidence which none can repose in an enemy, how kind soever is his behaviour. 2. *Curt.*

His

His  
follows  
gods,  
spent th  
and dis  
till nigh  
all his g  
boasts o  
were no  
ons, the  
such occ  
to lose l  
ing bet  
contend  
fraid to  
rose from  
to rest, v  
and som  
After  
to rewar  
a great r  
to share  
*mascus*, a  
army en  
the *Persia*  
a taste fo  
and the l  
Thus all  
cept the  
all the p  
thing cou  
he sat dov  
sword in l

His usual manner of passing the day was as follows. Upon rising he sacrificed to the gods, then went to a moderate repast, and spent the rest of his time in reading, hunting, and disciplining his army. He never supped till night, and then was ever careful to make all his guests equally satisfied and happy. His boasts of his own military bravery, however, were not equally pleasing to all his companions, the more sensible were unwilling upon such occasions to flatter him, yet equally loath to lose his friendship. Thus they sat hesitating between shame and danger, scorning to contend with the base in adulation, yet afraid to praise him less than others. When he rose from table he bathed, and then retired to rest, where he would often sleep till noon, and sometimes the whole day.

After his late victory, *Alexander*, in order to reward his horsemen, to whom he in a great measure owed his success, sent them to share the plunder of the rich city of *Damascus*, at the same time, that the rest of his army enriched themselves by the pillage of the *Persian* camp. They now began to have a taste for pleasure, and pursued the wealth and the luxuries of *Asia* with a new appetite. Thus all *Phœnicia* became the conquerors, except the city of *Tyre*, which was fortified by all the powers of art and nature. But nothing could resist the conquerors impetuosity, he sat down before it, and at length carried it sword in hand after an obstinate defence.

Among

Among the rest of the plunder, taken in the camp of *Darius*, there was a casket remarkably beautiful, which being presented to *Alexander*, he asked those about him, what they thought most fit to be placed in it? and upon each delivering their sentiments, he told them, he esteemed nothing more worthy than the the works of *Homer*, of the honour of being put into so fine a repository.

Soon after this, *Alexander* went to *Pharos*, an island at the mouth of the *Nile*, and there formed a city, to which he gave his own name \*, and in the mean time went himself to the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. This was a long, laborious, and difficult journey; first from the want of water in the desert through which the road lies, and next from the south wind, which often buries the traveller under clouds of sand. These difficulties, however, were not sufficient to deter *Alexander*; fortune had hitherto seconded him in his designs, and he was obstinate in all his resolutions. Having at length, with infinite danger, passed through the wilderness, the high priest welcomed *Alexander* from his father *Ammon*; and being asked, whether any of his father's murderers had escaped punishment? he charged him to speak with more respect, for his father was not mortal; upon which *Alexander*

\* The reader may see a curious description of the present state of the once celebrated city of *Alexandria*, with a perspective view of it, in *The World display'd*, vol. xii. p. 55—64.

changed  
fired to  
venged  
world w  
answered  
Then, a  
vourable  
Howe  
round hi  
a god, in  
convinced  
by *Anax*  
dered? V  
could no  
"frighte  
laughing  
that God  
particular  
thy the g  
About  
*Darius*, w  
10,000 ta  
and offer  
marriage,  
on this fi  
being com  
*Parmenio* c  
were *Alex*  
so would I,  
*menio*. H  
That if he  
should in h  
a generou  
*Darius's* w

changed the terms of the question, and desired to know if *Philip's* death was yet revenged, and whether the empire of the whole world was designed for him? The oracle answered both his demands in the affirmative. Then, after repaying the priest for his favourable responses, he departed.

However, though the flattery of those around him, would persuade him that he was a god, in his own mind, he was perfectly convinced of the contrary. Being once asked by *Anaxarchus* the philosopher, when it thundered? Why he, who was the son of *Jupiter*, could not thunder too? "I do not chuse to frighten my friends," cried *Alexander*, laughing: and at another time he observed, that God was the common father of all, but particularly of good men; a sentiment worthy the greatest philosopher.

About this time he received a letter from *Darius*, with earnest entreaties to accept of 10,000 talents, as a ransom for the captives, and offering him one of his daughters in marriage, with a cession of all the countries on this side the *Euphrates*. These proposals being communicated to *Alexander's* council, *Parmenio* could not avoid saying, *That if he were Alexander, he would accept of them. And so would I*, replied the king, *if I were Parmenio*. His answer to *Darius* however was, *That if he would yield himself a prisoner, he should in him experience all the tenderness of a generous conqueror*. But the death of *Darius's* wife, who soon after died in labour, softened

softened him into pity. The news being brought to *Darius*, by an eunuch who escaped from the *Macedonian* army, the grief of that unhappy monarch was extreme; he beat his head, and burst into tears and lamentations. Being informed, however, by the messenger, that no marks of honour or distinction were wanting to grace her obsequies; but that *Alexander* had all along behaved with the tenderness and the continence of a guardian to the *Persian* women, who were become his captives. "Ye gods, who  
 " preside over men and kingdoms, cried *Darius*,  
 " lifting up his hands to heaven, grant  
 " that I may be some time able to make an equal  
 " return of generosity. But if, indeed, the  
 " fatal period be come, that is to determine  
 " the *Persian* monarchy and my fate, if my  
 " ruin be a debt that must be paid to divine  
 " vengeance, grant I beseech you, that none  
 " but *Alexander* may sit upon the throne of  
 " *Cyrus*."

After all *Asia* on this side of the *Euphrates*, had been thus reduced by *Alexander's* arms, he was informed that *Darius*, with ten hundred thousand men was advancing to strike another blow. The two armies being at length advanced in view of each other, *Darius* kept his men in arms the whole night, and by torch-light reviewed his army. *Alexander*, on the contrary, offered sacrifices to *Fear* \*, while *Parmenio* besought him to attack

\* It was customary with both the *Greeks* and *Romans*

attack  
 returned  
 His g  
 left him  
 to enjo  
 came to  
 him mo  
 length  
 it was p  
 minent  
 victory  
 " smiling  
 " to pu  
 " power  
 issued fr  
 short co  
 close abo

*Romans* t  
 diseases th  
 this kind  
 quote a pa  
 Mr. Boyse  
 the heathe  
 " most str  
 " never be  
 " of *Fever*  
 " serve the  
 " order, o  
 " ready in  
 " they put  
 " might be  
 " shameful



attack *Darius* by night; to which the other returned, *That he would not steal a victory*. His generals therefore seeing him resolute, left him, and he laid himself down as usual, to enjoy his repose. His commanders, who came to wake him early in the morning, found him more soundly asleep than usual; but at length *Parmenio* awaking him, he asked how it was possible to sleep so soundly in such imminent danger, as if he were already sure of victory? "And so I am, said *Alexander* "smiling, since I am now no longer obliged "to pursue my enemy, but have it in my "power to fight him." Thus saying, he issued from his tent in his richest armour: a short coat of the *Sicilian* fashion was girt close about him, over which was a breast-

*Romans* to erect altars to the passions and the diseases they most dreaded. To give an idea of this kind of strange worship, we shall beg leave to quote a passage from *The New Pantheon*, by Mr. *Boyse*, in the chapter on the mythology of the heathens. "*Fever*, in the opinion of the "most stupid of the vulgar, says he, could "never be considered as a god, yet at the altar "of *Fever*, they besought the Supreme to preserve them from being infected by this disorder, or to cure their friends who were already infected by it: and at the altar of *Fear* "they put up their supplications, that they "might be preserved from the influence of a "shameful panic in the day of battle."

plate of quilted linnen, that had been taken among the other spoils at *Iffus*. His helmet was of polished steel, that shone with amazing splendor : his sword, which was the weapon he commonly used in battle, was of an admirable temper and lightness : he mounted his aged horse *Bucephalus*, which he always rode in battle, and then made his army a long oration. Thus encouraged, the phalanx rushed on like a torrent : the Barbarians quickly retired at their approach, and were closely pursued by *Alexander* to the place where *Darius* was himself in person among the foremost ranks, conspicuous in the midst of his guards, and drawn in a lofty chariot : but *Alexander's* presence soon put these to flight, who even still, in the agonies of death, attempted to guard their monarch, by clinging to the *Macedonians* as they fell. *Darius* had now nothing but terror and destruction before him. The wheels of his chariot were clogged with dead bodies, which almost covered his horses that began to grow unruly. In this extremity, nothing remained but to quit his chariot and arms, and mounting a mare newly foaled, as the story goes, he betook himself to flight.

This battle being thus determined, *Alexander* was proclaimed monarch of *Asia* by the whole army ; from hence therefore he marched to *Babylon*, which surrendered without any resistance. *Susa* was next taken, where were found 40,000 talents in money ready coined, besides immense quantities of other treasure and

and f  
statue  
the ir  
it as  
" sha  
" inv  
" cau  
Befo  
an ent  
to brin  
among  
*Tbais*,  
was aft  
skill at  
the dra  
revel, f  
hands,  
had onc  
fal was  
king hi  
a chapl  
in his h  
of *Persia*

\* This  
inhabitan  
ert their  
min. See  
this work  
† The  
scription

and furniture. In the palace *Alexander* saw a statue of *Xerxes*, which was thrown down by the irruption of the soldiers ; and addressing it as if it were alive, “ Tell me, said he, “ shall I suffer thee to lie prostrate for thy “ invading *Greece*, or raise thee again be- “ cause of thy virtue ?”

Before he left *Persepolis*, he gave his friends an entertainment, and suffered each soldier to bring his mistress. The most celebrated among the ladies present on this occasion was *Tbais*, an *Athenian*, mistress to *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards king of *Egypt*. She had the skill at once to flatter and to please *Alexander* ; she drank freely, and in the height of the revel, she proposed in sport, with her own hands, to set fire to the palace of *Xerxes*, who had once laid *Athens* in ruins \*. This proposal was received with loud applause, and the king himself started from his seat, and with a chaplet of flowers on his head, and a torch in his hand, led the way, and all the pride of *Persia* was instantly consumed to ashes †.

The

\* This was when *Themistocles* persuaded the inhabitants to desert that city, in order to exert their whole strength at the battle of *Salamin*. See the life of *Themistocles* in vol. i. of this work.

† The reader may see a very particular description of the ruins of the famous palace of

*Alexander's* munificence to his followers was not less than his signal valour against his opposers. *Aristo*, one of his captains, having killed an enemy, brought his head to *Alexander*, for which he claimed the usual reward of a cup of gold. "You shall have more," cried the hero, for I drink to you "in one full of wine." One of the common soldiers driving a mule heavy laden with a part of the king's treasure, the beast tired, so that the soldier was obliged to place the treasure on his own back, and thus marched forward, but with great difficulty. *Alexander* seeing the poor wretch almost ready to faint under his burden, cheered him, by bidding him not faint now, but keep on the rest of the way, and carry what he had got on his back home for his own use. He once received a letter from *Antipater*, accusing *Olympias* the king's mother of various offences. "Alas," cried the king, this man "knows not, that one tear of a mother is "able to efface a thousand such letters as "these."

He was displeased, however, when he found that his presents tended to render his courtiers luxurious. Being informed that

*Persépolis*, thus wantonly destroyed, in *The World display'd*, vol. xv. p. 198—213, where the account given of these ancient remains is illustrated with several plates.

*Leona*  
him  
and  
plain  
proved  
ing th  
ignora  
sure th  
" con  
" tory  
" we  
ever, n  
luptuou  
ing new  
ply, bu  
and to b  
marched  
pecting  
this pain  
harrassed  
fered eq  
it happen  
water in  
tally disc  
choaked  
water, an  
to whom  
upon the  
took the h  
all around  
ness at the  
he returned  
taste a dro

*Leonatus* employed several camels only to bring him dust from *Egypt* to use when he wrestled; and that more used precious ointments than plain oil when they went to bathe, he reproved them first with great mildness; telling them, that he wondered they should be ignorant, that labour more conduced to pleasure than luxury. "Are you still to learn," continued he, that the perfection of victory is to avoid the vices of those whom "we have subdued." His followers, however, now beginning to be in love with a voluptuous life, reproached his zeal for attempting new labours; but he made no other reply, but that it became a king to do well, and to be ill spoken of. He now therefore marched in pursuit of the flying *Darius*, expecting to bring him to another battle. In this painful pursuit, his soldiers were greatly harrassed for want of water. *Alexander* suffered equally with the rest of the army; but it happened that some *Macedonians* had fetched water in skins from a river they had accidentally discovered, and seeing the king almost choaked with thirst, filled an helmet with water, and offered it to him. He asked them to whom they were carrying the water; and upon their replying, to their children, he took the helmet from their hands, and seeing all around him stretching out with earnestness at the refreshment he was going to share, he returned it with thanks, and would not taste a drop. "I will not drink, said he,

"to make my army faint and weary with wishing."

The army seeing this, desired with shouts to be led on to the enemy; and *Alexander* himself, at the head of fifty horse, broke into the enemy's camp, who had deserted it upon his approach. They endeavoured to overtake those who first fled, in hopes of meeting *Darius* among the number. At length they found the hapless monarch, lying in a chariot, covered with wounds, and just expiring. He had scarcely strength to call for something to drink; and when he had drank a little cold water, he said to the person who gave it to him, "My friend, this compleats my misery, to receive a favour, and not be able to return it; but the gods will reward thee, and so will *Alexander*; and tell him, that in token of my acknowledgment, I give him my right hand." When *Alexander* saw the unfortunate end of *Darius*, he was sensibly touched with sorrow, and taking off his own coat, threw it on the corpse as it lay; and as soon as *Bessus*, who was the murderer, was taken, he ordered his limbs to be tied to trees, bent so as to meet each other, and upon their recoiling to their natural situation, the traitor's body was torn to pieces.

From hence the victor marched into *Hyrkania*, from thence to *Parthia*; where, in order to ingratiate himself with the Barbarians, he first put on the *Persian* habit: this was a very unpleasing sight to the *Macedonians*; but his

his other  
sent on  
dangers  
He pa  
under  
tbians  
longs.  
queen  
determ  
shows

Still  
appreh  
weary  
offering  
the sam  
to cong  
out, th  
should  
therefor  
with th  
and end  
*Macedon*  
dentally  
ed with  
regard  
shions,

None  
rity than  
he was  
war, bu  
munifice  
was so ex  
air of d



his other virtues seemed to atone for his present offence. His courage and contempt of danger were every day more conspicuous. He passed the river *Orexartes*, tho' labouring under a bodily disorder, and putting the *Scythians* to flight, pursued them an hundred furlongs. Here we are told he was visited by the queen of the *Amazons*, though truth seems to determine against this whole account, and shews it to be an improbable fiction.

Still resolved to pursue his conquests, but apprehending that the *Macedonians* were grown weary of the war, he assembled his army, and offering such as desired it leave to return, he at the same time protested that he was resolved to conquer alone; but his whole army cried out, that they would follow him wherever he should think proper to lead. From this time therefore he resolved to ingratiate himself with the people he had a design to conquer, and endeavoured to blend the Barbarian and *Macedonian* customs together. Having accidentally seen *Roxana* at a feast, he was charmed with her beauty, and willing to shew his regard for the Eastern beauties as well as fashions, he married her.

None of the *Macedonians* had more authority than *Philotas*, the son of *Parmenio*; for he was not only valiant and indefatigable in war, but was, next to *Alexander*, the most munificent and kind to his friends: but he was so extremely proud, and assumed such an air of dignity and grandeur, that *Parmenio* would

would sometimes say to him, *My son, be leſs*. At the taking of *Damaſcus*, there fell to his ſhare a beautiful woman named *Antigona*, and being one day in his cups, he like a boaiſting ſoldier told her, *That all the great actions were performed by him and his father, and that by their means the ſtrippling Alexander enjoyed the title of king*. This ſhe told to one of her acquaintance, by which means it came to the ears of *Craterus*, who introduced her privately to the king. *Alexander* having heard her, ordered her to inform him from time to time of what *Philotas* ſaid, who being thus inadvertently taken in the ſnare, *Alexander* was told all the indiſcreet expreſſions he uttered againſt him from reſentment or vanity. About this time one *Limnus* a *Macedonian* conſpired againſt the life of *Alexander*, and invited a youth, whom he eſteemed his friend, to join in the conſpiracy: but this youth told it to his brother, who, going to *Philotas*, deſired him to introduce them both to *Alexander*, to whom they had ſomething to communicate that was of the utmoſt moment; but *Philotas* pretending that the king was taken up with affairs of more importance, reſuſed to introduce them. Having in vain repeated their ſolicitations, they applied to *Metro*, by whole means they were admitted into *Alexander's* preſence, when having diſcovered *Limnus's* conſpiracy, they complained of *Philotas's* negligence. *Alexander* was extremely exaſperated at *Philotas*, which was ſoon en-

creaſed,

creaſed  
had ſen  
for he  
tor had  
a full d  
*Philotas*  
him, h  
the pre  
ander hi  
try to  
*Alexand*  
ing of  
in the  
one, on  
counſel  
vade *A*  
the arc  
now hi  
Soon  
The ki  
he ſent  
was the  
wait on  
When  
undert  
ludicro  
graver  
his gay  
proceed  
quor, a  
per, re  
drew o  
the ſam

creased, on his hearing that the person he had sent to apprehend *Limnius* had killed him; for he conceived, that the death of that traitor had deprived him of the means of making a full discovery of the plot. The enemies of *Philotas* now exasperating the king against him, he was seized and put to the torture in the presence of his principal officers, *Alexander* himself being placed behind the tapestry to hear what passed. After his death, *Alexander* sent orders into *Media* for the slaying of *Parmenio*, a man who had a great share in the exploits of *Philip*, and was the only one, or at least the chief of his old friends and counsellors, who had encouraged him to invade *Asia*. Of three sons whom he had in the army, he had already lost two, and was now himself put to death with the third.

Soon after happened the death of *Clitus*. The king having received a present of fruit, he sent for *Clitus* to give him a share: *Clitus* was then sacrificing, but went immediately to wait on the king, who invited him to supper. When they had drank very hard, a singer undertook to entertain the company with a ludicrous song, which giving offence to the graver part of the assembly, *Alexander* and his gay companions encouraged the singer to proceed. *Clitus*, who was flushed with liquor, and besides of an hasty obstinate temper, reprov'd the fellow severely. This drew on a reproof from *Alexander*, who at the same time hinted the cowardice of his general.

neral. To which *Clitus* replied, That he was no coward, but that he had formerly saved him when running away from the sword of *Spithridates*. *Alexander* could hardly refrain, but in a low voice expostulated with those that sat next him upon the insolence of *Clitus*. The other, as if willing to force his fate, desired him to speak up, as became the free among such as were free. *Alexander* being unable to suppress his resentment, took one of the apples that lay upon the table, and flung it at him; *Clitus* still continued to rage, till his friends forced him out; but he soon returned, singing a taunting song, which *Alexander* at length punished, by snatching a spear from one of the soldiers, and running *Clitus* through the body. Upon this his resentment immediately cooled, and turning the spear against himself, he was going to plunge it into his own body, but was prevented by his surrounding friends. He continued for some days totally absorbed in grief and remorse; but he was at last comforted by the eloquence of *Calisthenes* and *Anaxarchus*, two philosophers that were in his camp, and attended him through this expedition.

*Anaxarchus* reproached him with weeping like an abject slave, and pretended that a king could do no wrong; while *Calisthenes* soothed him by the power of his persuasive eloquence. This *Calisthenes*, upon a former occasion, refused to adore *Alexander*. When  
the

the mor  
one of  
himself  
him, sa  
pany di  
*Calisthe*  
out any  
began t  
was aft  
mand,  
prison.

*Alexa*  
expedit  
diers fo  
their m  
dition,  
and beg  
more ra  
and rec  
cricity;  
tion. I  
death,  
placed h  
*Persian*  
As he v  
many h  
tles dee  
his arm  
healthy  
provisio  
fortune  
strength  
tires on  
beginni

the monarch at a banquet reached the cup to one of his friends, the flatterer prostrated himself before him as to a god, and kissing him, sat down. This the rest of the company did one after the other, till it came to *Calisthenes's* turn, who taking the cup, without any other ceremony, drank it off. This began to displease the king, and some say he was afterwards hanged by *Alexander's* command, but others, that he died of sickness in prison.

*Alexander* now turned his attention to his expedition into *India*; but finding his soldiers so charged with baggage that it retarded their march, he on the morning of his expedition, gave orders to set fire to the baggage, and began by burning his own. This once more raised a new enthusiasm in the army, and redoubled *Alexander's* vigour and alacrity; but his severity encreased in proportion. He put *Menander* one of his friends to death, for deserting a fortress where he had placed him in garrison, and shot *Orsodates*, a *Persian* who had revolted, with his own hand. As he went forward, he exposed himself to many hazards, and received in several battles deep and dangerous wounds; besides, his army suffered not a little from the unhealthy climate, and the want of necessary provisions: but he still laboured to surmount fortune by patience, and supply the want of strength by virtue. Having besieged *Sisymbrius* on an inaccessible rock, and his soldiers beginning to despair of taking it, he so intimidated

dated the governor, that the garrison soon surrendered. Upon another occasion, seeing his men march slowly to attack a fortress, because of a deep river which intercepted their march, he advanced before them, and standing on the bank, What a wretched man am I, cried he, for not having learned to swim. The governors of a town that had capitulated, coming out to view their conqueror, were surprized at the simplicity of his dress and behaviour. Ordering his attendants to bring out a cushion, he desired the eldest of their company to sit down. *Ancuphis*, which was the name of the old man, charmed with his courtesy and humanity, asked him, What his countrymen should do to merit his friendship? I would have them, said *Alexander*, chuse thee for their king, and send me a hundred hostages of the most worthy men. "I shall govern them better, said *Ancuphis* smiling, if I send you so many of the worst."

When the conqueror carried his arms to the dominions of *Taxiles*, king of a large country, and who governed with wisdom, that philosopher thus addressed the hero: "To what purpose should we contend? If thy intent be not to rob us of our food, thou may'st take a part of all the other possessions I boast; for they do not deserve a wise man's efforts." To this *Alexander* replied, that he would at least contend with him one way, he would labour who should

most

most ex  
which,  
the co

His  
he him  
were sep  
day ma  
Barbaria  
rendered  
night, h  
the plac  
so swoll  
place of  
cessible;  
from the  
then adv  
charged  
flight.  
ander wa  
with all  
ander div  
in each f  
after a lo  
feated.

*Porus* w  
upon an  
that he a  
ed. This  
gacity, an  
fight; bu  
taken. V  
expected  
king. An  
VOL. V



most excel in kindness and liberality; upon which, making a mutual exchange of presents, the conqueror went forward.

His next adventure was with *Porus*, which he himself relates as follows: the two armies were separated by the river *Hydaspes*; he every day made great noises in his camp, that the Barbarians being accustomed to it, might be rendered careless of his designs. In a dark night, he passed the river, considerably above the place where the enemy lay; the river was so swollen by a shower and storm, that the place of landing became slippery and inaccessible; his army, however, passed forward from their rafts up to the breast in water: he then advanced with his horse, with which he charged the enemy, and put the foremost to flight. *Porus* now justly supposing that *Alexander* was at the head of the army, advanced with all his forces to the action; but *Alexander* dividing his men, attacked the enemy in each flank, which being put to the rout, after a long slaughter, they were entirely defeated.

*Porus* was near seven feet high, and rode upon an elephant; but such was his bulk, that he appeared but proportionably mounted. This animal seemed to shew great sagacity, and long defended his master in the fight; but *Porus* was at length wounded and taken. When *Alexander* asked him how he expected to be used, he answered, Like a king. And hast thou no other request, con-

tinued *Alexander*? No, replied *Porus*; for my former has comprehended them all. The behaviour of the conqueror was entirely great; he not only permitted him to continue in the government of his own kingdom, but added to it several other extensive provinces which he had lately conquered. *Alexander* being willing to pass on towards the ocean, he caused boats and rafts to be built, on which he went down the stream.

He took many towns in his passage, particularly the city of the *Mallians*, reckoned the most valiant people of *India*; but in the siege of their city, he was in danger of his life, as he was the first that entered upon the assault, and his scaling-ladder having broke, prevented his return; so that he was left alone exposed to the darts of the Barbarians, which they threw at him in great numbers from below: but resolving to venture all, he leap'd down in the midst of his enemies, and had the good fortune so to astonish the Barbarians, that they at first ran away; but seeing him only seconded by two of his guards, they again renewed their assaults upon him, and he received so violent a blow as threw him upon one knee; the Barbarian now therefore fancying him an easy prey ran up; but one of the guards interposed, while *Alexander* killed the assailant. Another blow followed the former, and now *Alexander* leaned motionless against the wall, where he stood looking at the enemy; but the *Macedonians* break-

ing

ing i  
sensib  
it wa  
length  
cultu  
cedoni  
robe,  
them,  
his pr  
In t  
the se  
were r  
swers,  
asking  
thus an  
them v  
His v  
took u  
he had  
that n  
to exte  
his fleet  
turn by  
was one  
he had y  
uncultiv  
In six  
*drofia*, w  
plenty:  
all the w  
drawn alo  
by horses  
friends a

ing in to his assistance, conveyed him, insensible as he was, to his tent; upon which it was reported that he was dead. He at length, however, though with some difficulty, recovered; and hearing that the *Macedonians* began to mutiny, he put on his robe, and when he had shewn himself to them, sacrificed to the gods, and pursued his progress, taking several other cities.

In this voyage he took ten philosophers of the sect called *Gymnosophists*; and as they were reckoned extremely acute in their answers, he was resolved to try their skill, by asking them questions; and after having thus amused himself for some time, dismissed them with marks of his bounty.

His voyage down the river to the ocean took up near seven months; which, when he had reached, and imploring the gods, that no man might ever be permitted to extend his conquests farther, he ordered his fleet to sail round, and undertook to return by land with his army. This march was one of the most dangerous and fatiguing he had yet encountered, as it lay through an uncultivated country.

In six days, however, he arrived at *Ge-drosia*, where he found himself supplied with plenty: he then came to *Carmania*, feasting all the way for seven days together. He was drawn along upon a stage, which was moved by horses, and on this he feasted with his friends almost day and night: the whole  
R 2 country,

country resounded with the sounds of riot and wantonness; and as soon as he entered the palace of *Gedrosia*, he again refreshed and feasted his army. On his return into *Persia*, finding the sepulchre of *Cyrus* open and rifled, he put *Polymachus*, who was guilty of this crime, to death, and caused the inscription to be again cut in *Greek* characters. It ran thus: "O man, whoever thou art, and from whence soever thou comest, know that I am *Cyrus* the founder of the *Persian* empire, envy me not therefore this little earth that covers my body."

At his return to *Susa*, he married *Statira* the daughter of *Darius*, and bestowed the noblest *Persian* ladies upon his other friends. Here he again renewed his feasts and debauchery; and paid the debts of his whole army. He had left 30,000 boys, upon undertaking his expedition into *India*, behind him in *Persia*, to be educated in military discipline. These were now grown men, and greatly excelled both in beauty and all the martial exercises: these therefore he now took under his peculiar care, which not a little excited the jealousy of the *Macedonians*, and they even desired to be sent home. These murmurings not a little displeased *Alexander*, who in a passion discharged them from being his life-guard, and disgraced them for a time; but upon their humble petitions for pardon, he at length was appeased, and having dismissed such as were unfit for service with great re-

wards

wards,  
they  
the fo

At E  
sures;  
by the  
tion, fo  
grief at  
pected  
and his  
prizing  
ing from  
by some  
but Alex  
to the c  
he was  
which in  
without  
way to f  
timid, a  
prodigy:  
received  
tion; he  
hewed hi  
Nearcho  
just going  
he went  
all that  
excess, th  
the midst  
crease it  
on, a frénz  
eth of J

wards, he ordered that upon their return, they should enjoy at the public games all the foremost places in the theatres.

At *Ecbatana* he again renewed his pleasures; which were for some time interrupted by the death of his dearest friend *Hephestion*, for whose loss he was inconsolable: his grief at first produced some cruelties, but he erected for him a tomb of excellent beauty, and his obsequies were performed with surprising magnificence. As he was proceeding from hence towards *Babylon*, he was met by some diviners, who desired him not to go; but *Alexander* slighted their advice, and went to the city. Before his entrance, however, he was again deterred by new prodigies, which induced him to remain for some time without the walls; he now began to give way to superstition; he became anxious and timid, and every event was regarded as a prodigy: but upon some encouragements he received from an oracle relative to *Hephestion*, he laid aside his sorrow, and again renewed his debaucheries. After having given *Nearchus* a splendid entertainment, he was just going to bed, when, at *Medius's* request, he went to supper with him, but drank all that night and the next day, to such excess, that it threw him into a fever. In the midst of his disorder, he ventured to increase it by a draught of wine, which brought on a frenzy, of which he died on the thirtieth of *June*. There was no suspicion at

that time of his being poisoned, though some years after several persons were put to death by *Olympias*, on their being accused of perpetrating this murder.

*Roxana*, who was with child by *Alexander*, attempted for a time to conceal his death, till she had *Statira* her rival in her power, whom she killed with her sister, and throwing their bodies into a well, caused it to be filled up with earth\*.

\* *Alexander* died about the 328th year before the birth of *Christ*; at thirty-three years of age; before he had leisure to settle the vast empire he had founded; leaving behind him a weak bastard brother, and very young children. Mr. *Bossuet* very justly observes, that the circumstance which proved most fatal to his family and empire, was his having taught his generals to breathe nothing but ambition and war. He foresaw the prodigious lengths they would go after his death, and he did not dare to name his successor, or the guardian of his children: he only foretold, that his friends would solemnize his obsequies with bloody battles; and he expired in the flower of his age, full of the sad images of the confusion that would follow his death. His immense dominions were shared among his generals; and even *Macedonia*, which his ancestors had governed during many ages, was invaded on every side; and after being long exposed a prey, was at last possessed by another family, and he him-

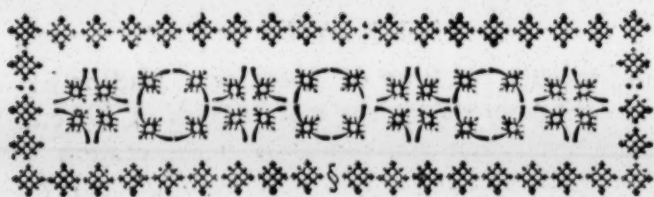
self

self wa  
ed pea  
pire w  
his ge  
childre  
ancesto  
of pow  
sterity:  
conquer



self was the last king of *Macedon*. Had he lived peaceably there, the vast bounds of his empire would not have proved a temptation to his generals, and he would have left to his children the kingdom he inherited from his ancestors: but rising to too exalted an height of power, he proved the destruction of his posterity: such was the glorious fruits of all his conquests.





T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
*JULIUS CÆSAR.*

*C*ÆSAR first began to be conspicuous from the hatred of *Sylla*. The ground of this animosity was the friendship between *Cæsar* and *Marius*; whence *Sylla* at first consulted some friends about putting him to death, but they thought him at that time an object too mean for resentment; but to this *Sylla* replied, that they knew but little, if they could not see in that boy many *Marius*'s. *Cæsar* having notice of this, led a wandering life, and chiefly concealed himself among the *Sabines*. One night, however, he fell into the hands of *Sylla*'s soldiers, but a bribe of two

J  
two tal  
procure  
into *By*  
king *N*  
taken b  
seas.  
ransom,  
and dis  
and in  
with gr  
ness.  
those w  
barbari  
threaten  
came, l  
he man  
of the p  
some of  
Upon  
was aga  
going to  
school o  
such a p  
to the s  
empire.  
cused *D*  
many ci  
But thos  
cution,  
*Antonius*

\* Th  
sent state  
vol. xiii.

two talents to their commander at that time procured his liberty. He now therefore fled into *Bythinia*, where after a short stay with king *Nicomedes*, in his passage back he was taken by pirates, who at that time infested the seas. They demanded twenty talents for his ransom, but he voluntarily offered them fifty, and dispatched messengers to raise the money, and in the mean time lived among the pirates with great seeming tranquility and chearfulness. He wrote verses and speeches, and those who did not admire them, he termed barbarians, and would often in raillery threaten to hang them. When his ransom came, he was discharged; but presently after he manned some ships, and sailing in pursuit of the pirates, took most of them, and caused some of them to be crucified.

Upon the decline of *Sylla's* power, *Cæsar* was again invited by his friends to *Rome*, but going to *Rhodes* \*, he entered himself into the school of a famous rhetorician, where he made such a progress, as raised him incontestably to the second place as an orator in the whole empire. When he returned to *Rome*, he accused *Dolabella* for wrong administration, and many cities of *Greece* attested the accusation. But though he was unsuccessful in this prosecution, he undertook another against *Publius Antonius*, in which he was more fortunate. By

\* The reader may see an account of the present state of this island in *The World displayed*, vol. xiii. pag. 46, &c.

these means his interest grew every day greater among the people, who were not apprized of his ambition till it was too late to oppose it. *Cicero* was the first who entertained such suspicions, for he saw his enterprising spirit; in spite of his specious behaviour.

The first proofs *Cæsar* received of his own popularity, was his obtaining a tribuneship in the army, and the next was the applause he received upon pronouncing the funeral oration of his aunt. He was so profuse, that before he was invested with any public employment, he found himself thirteen hundred talents in debt; he even in his public employments disbursed a part of his own fortune, and became so much the favourite of the people, that he obtained almost every post he solicited. There were now in the city two factions, that of *Sylla* still very powerful, and that of *Marius*, quite broken and dispirited. He attempted to revive the latter, and when in his office of ædile he gave shews to the people, he ordered some statues of *Marius*, and of victory, to be made, and privately placed in the capitol. This making some noise, the party of *Marius* took courage, and coming in great numbers shouting to the capitol, they wept for joy at this instance of gratitude to their old benefactor. This drew on an accusation in the senate against *Cæsar*, but his defence was so artful and eloquent, that it wanted effect.

Some time after *Metellus* the high priest dying, *Cæsar* offered himself as a candidate to succeed

J  
succeed  
on, ye  
ceived  
grown,  
for *Ca*  
friends  
therefor  
*Cæsar* a  
cence,  
senate h  
*Cato* per  
them o  
which a  
at an im  
Durin  
a man c  
to fall i  
but find  
lady w  
to make  
man, an  
*Bona De*  
mitted t  
tected by  
ed the m  
bands.  
the peop  
*Cæsar*, i  
ed *Pempe*  
should n  
moned a  
to appea  
quitted.

succeed him. Tho' he met a strong opposition, yet he carried it. The senators now perceived to what a pitch his popularity was grown, and found that his former tenderness for *Catiline*, was only an art to gain new friends to assist his ambition. The senate, therefore, taking this into consideration, and *Cæsar* attempting to vindicate his own innocence, the rabble tumultuously went up to the senate house, and required *Cæsar's* dismissal. *Cato* perceiving the danger, attempted to bring them over by a monthly allowance of corn, which answered the end for this time, tho' at an immense expence to the public.

During these transactions, *Publius Clodius*; a man of a debauched character, happened to fall in love with *Pompeia* the wife of *Cæsar*, but finding no place of assignation, as the lady was so strictly guarded, he undertook to make one, by disguising himself as a woman, and assisting at the ceremonies of the *Bona Dea*, where none but women were permitted to be present. Here he was soon detected by his voice, and his attempt produced the most violent resentment of all the husbands. He was accused by the tribunes, but the people set themselves up to defend him. *Cæsar*, in order to please both sides, divorced *Pompeia*, observing, that the wife of *Cæsar* should not even be suspected; but being summoned as a witness against *Clodius*, he refused to appear, and the accused was therefore acquitted.

Being

Being made prætor, the province of *Spain* fell to his lot; but as he was preparing to go thither, his creditors came upon him with the most pressing importunities. From this uncafiness, however, he was relieved by *Crassus*, who became surety for the payment of all his debts. It is said, that being asked by his friends whether they should solicit for him in his absence, he forbade them, observing, that he had rather be first among the people where he went, than second at *Rome*. At another time, when he was caught weeping over the history of *Alexander*, being asked the reason, "What, cried he, have I not just cause, when he at my age conquered the world, and I have yet done nothing."

In *Spain* he discharged both the military and civil duties of his station with universal applause. As he had gained a victory, and subdued some nations, that had not yet been conquered by the *Romans*, he returned in order to have a triumph; but there being a law at *Rome*, that whoever demanded that honour, should remain without the walls; and another, that whoever demanded a consulship, should appear personally in the Forum; this not a little embarrassed *Cæsar*, as he aspired at both these honours; he therefore desired to be permitted to sue for the consulship, tho' absent; but *Cato* opposing him, *Cæsar* thought proper to drop the triumph, and to be contented with the hopes of being consul. He now therefore undertook to reconcile *Pompey* and *Crassus*, who were at variance, and  
by



u.  
o  
h  
is  
f.  
of  
y  
m  
g,  
le  
a-  
ng  
he  
ust  
he

ary  
fal  
nd  
een  
or-  
g a  
hat  
nd  
ip,  
his  
red  
red  
hip,  
efar  
d to  
ful.  
cile  
and  
by





*CÆSAR weeping on his comparing  
his Actions with those of ALEXANDER.*

J  
by this  
their un  
obtained  
and wa  
frages o  
chosen h

He bo  
servile p  
for a di  
corn; th  
ed his d  
by appe  
assisted l  
might e  
his inter  
in marr  
it was i  
his rival  
the rema

*Pompey,*  
the For  
laws in  
*Cæsar* fl  
both fid  
four leg  
opposed  
time of  
dered h  
but fine  
the peo  
vate ord

In th  
might n  
preferre

VOL.

by this means strengthened his interest by their united power. By their assistance he obtained the dignity to which he aspired, and was declared consul by the united suffrages of the whole people, and *Bibulus* was chosen his colleague.

He began his office by acts of the most servile popularity; he moved in the senate for a division of lands, and a distribution of corn; this was opposed by those who perceived his designs, but he at once answered them by appealing to the people. In this he was assisted by *Pompey* and *Crassus*, and, that he might engage the former more thoroughly in his interest, he gave him his daughter *Julia* in marriage. *Bibulus*, his colleague, found it was impossible to withstand the power of his rival, and fearing his resentment, spent the remaining part of his consulship at home. *Pompey*, upon being married, presently filled the Forum with troops, and thus past the laws in debate, together with another, that *Cæsar* should have the government of *Gaul* on both sides of the *Alps*, and the command of four legions for five years. These laws were opposed by *Cato*, the only bulwark at that time of his country; upon which *Cæsar* ordered him to be arrested and sent to prison, but finding himself not seconded in this by the people, as he had expected, he gave private orders for his releasement.

In this depression of the good, *Clodius* might naturally expect promotion, him *Cæsar* preferred, with a design to ruin *Cicero*, nor

did *Cæsar* take the field, till *Cicero* was banished from *Italy*.

*Cæsar's* conduct upon coming to his province seemed to have been entirely altered, he now exerted every virtue, and shewed himself foremost in every arduous enterprize. The little care he took about his diet, is manifest from the following circumstance. A person who had invited him, having poured ointment upon the sallad instead of oil, *Cæsar* eat of it without any disgust, and when his friends blamed him for it, he observed, that they were guilty of ill breeding, who not only abstained from the feast, but scolded at it too. Another time, being driven into a cottage by a storm, he ordered the warmest bed to be given to the eldest man in company, remarking, that the most honourable places should be given to the best men, but the most convenient to the oldest.

His first war in *Gaul* was against the *Helvetians* and *Tigurini*, who attempted to march through that part of *Gaul* which was subject to the *Romans*. Their numbers were surprising, being in all three hundred thousand. After a long engagement, he drove the body of the army from the field, but was stopt by their baggage, which had been fortified by a rampart. Here even the women and children made an obstinate defence, but the whole army was either taken or destroyed.

His second war was in favour of the *Gauls* against the *Germans*, though he had some time before admitted *Ariovistus* their king into the alliance

allian  
ever,  
such  
dange  
the t  
since  
sharin  
thus c  
army  
ed, th  
warne  
Moon,  
them  
tained

Aft  
left h  
attend  
time,  
unsusp  
long f  
ing th  
among  
togeth  
flew to  
as they  
ed ther  
ter, th  
the glo  
protect  
vii, th  
of all  
a sudd  
but per  
himself

alliance of *Rome*. Finding his soldiers, however, averse to this war, he offered to send such back as thought proper to decline the danger, asserting, that himself alone, with the tenth legion, would hazard the whole, since their cowardice prevented them from sharing the danger and the glory. Having thus excited them to fresh ardour, he led his army against the *Germans*, and being informed, that by their diviners, the enemy was warned not to engage before the next new moon, he took an immediate occasion to force them to a battle, in which he as usual obtained a victory.

After thus being doubly victorious, *Cæsar* left his army in winter quarters, in order to attend his affairs at *Rome*. During all this time, *Pompey* remained entirely unactive and unsuspecting. *Cæsar*, however, was not long suffered to remain in the city; for hearing that the *Belgæ*, a most powerful people among the *Gauls*, had revolted, and had got together a numerous army, he immediately flew to oppose them, and falling upon them, as they were ravaging the country, he defeated them, and pursued them with great slaughter, their numbers only serving to encrease the glory of the victory, without affording them protection. He next led his army against the *Nervii*, the most uncivilized, and the most fierce of all the neighbouring nations. These, by a sudden onset, at first routed his cavalry, but perceiving the danger of his troops, he himself snatched up a buckler, and forcing

his way through his own men, he, with the assistance of his tenth legion, changed the fortune of the day, and cut the enemy almost entirely off. For out of 60,000 soldiers, not above 500 survived the battle. For this signal victory, the *Roman* senate voted, that sacrifices and festivals should be celebrated for the space of fifteen days.

As his victories encreased, so did his influence at *Rome*, he had fixed his winter quarters at the *Po*, where several senators, and others, the most powerful and eminent at *Rome*, came to pay him their respects, and court his favour. Here he, *Pompey* and *Cras-*  
*sus* agreed, that the two latter should be consuls for the following year, and that *Cæsar's* command should be renewed for five years more; none attempted to controvert these proceedings in the senate but *Favonius*, who was a zealous imitator of *Cato*, but he was disregarded in the senate, and, in his address to the people, he encountered still more flagrant contempt.

After this, *Cæsar* returning to his forces in *Gaul*, found that country involved in a dangerous war, two powerful nations of the *German*s having lately pass'd the *Rhine*, and invaded the *Roman* provinces. The Barbarians, at first, began by a shew of treating with him, but on his march for that purpose with a few men, they routed his whole cavalry, who were not prepared to give them a reception. After this they sent other ambassadors, but these he secured, and marched forward to give them

them b  
that of  
dred t  
caped  
a peopl

This  
vading  
over w  
most d  
without  
of taki  
woody  
general  
whereve  
after an

His c  
ous, from  
brought  
failed th  
warriors  
and in f  
the *Bri*  
enemy.

thing bu  
the grea  
able to  
he was c  
tages an

Upon  
by letter  
this acci  
and a stat  
*Pompey* w  
him their



them battle, the success of which was such that of those who past the *Rhine*, four hundred thousand were cut off, the few who escaped being sheltered among the *Sicambri*, a people of *Germany*.

This served as a pretence to *Cæsar* for invading *Germany*, and for passing the *Rhine*, over which he threw a bridge where it was most deep and rapid, and passed his army without any opposition. The *Suevi*, instead of taking the field, openly flew to the most woody parts of the country; the *Roman* general having therefore burnt and ravaged wherever he appeared, returned to *Gaul*, after an expedition of eighteen days.

His courage now seemed most conspicuous, from his expedition into *Britain*; he first brought a navy into the western ocean, and sailed through the *Atlantic*, with an army of warriors. He past thrice over into that island, and in several battles which he fought among the *Britons*, injured himself more than the enemy. They were too poor, and had nothing but their lives to sell, which they did to the greatest advantage. Finding himself unable to put an end to the war as he designed, he was content to impose taxes, to take hostages and retire.

Upon his return to *Gaul*, he was informed by letters, that his daughter *Julia* was dead; this accident afflicted him at once as a father and a statesman; for now his connections with *Pompey* were broken off. The people, to shew him their respect, took the dead body by force

from the tribunes, and buried it in the *Campus Martius*.

*Cæsar*, having partitioned out his army into winter quarters, once more prepared to return to *Rome*, but he was scarce gone, when the Barbarians taking advantage of his absence, attacked the *Roman* army as it lay separate in their different cantonments, and attempted to make themselves masters of the forts where they lay. One part of the *Roman* army, under the command of *Cotta* and *Titurius*, were cut off. *Quintus Cicero* who commanded another part, was invested by 60,000 Barbarians; but *Cæsar* having timely notice, mustered a body of 7000 men, and hastened to his relief. The besiegers immediately raised the siege, and went forth to meet him; *Cæsar*, to encrease their confidence, seemed as if he declined engaging, till at last attacking them when in disorder, he put them to flight with great slaughter. His army was soon after reinforced by two legions more, which were lent him by *Pompey*.

These nations, however, were not yet entirely subdued, a new insurrection broke out still more dangerous than any of the preceding, as it was almost impossible to attack their forces, by reason of the winter which had frozen the rivers, covered the woods and the fields with snow, and rendered the roads impassable. *Cæsar*, as soon as he heard of this revolt, was resolved to shew the Barbarians, that he was capable of surmounting every difficulty, and unexpectedly appeared before them

them  
follow  
surrou  
his re  
and he  
The  
take r  
hasten  
to be  
choic  
shut up  
withou  
those  
victory  
the eng  
dissipa  
cingetor  
as a pri  
The  
time b  
but he  
only wa  
Rome w  
receive  
was bec  
election  
voters.  
things  
rid viol  
monarch  
the gove  
cure but  
this med  
gentlest  
himself

them with a numerous army. The enemy following him on his march, attacked and surrounded him with their superior numbers; his resolution however defeated their force, and he once more gained a compleat victory.

They who escaped this slaughter, went to take refuge in the city of *Alesia*, which *Cæsar* hastened to besiege. This city was attempted to be relieved by no less than 300,000 of the choicest troops of *Gaul*, so that *Cæsar* was shut up between the army within, and those without. In this exigence, he first attacked those who came from abroad, and gained a victory, before even the townsmen knew of the engagement. When this great army was dissipated, *Alesia* at last surrendered, and *Vercingetorix* the commander, submitted himself as a prisoner to grace the conqueror's triumph.

The power of *Crassus* had for some time balanced that of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; but he being now slain in *Parthia*, *Pompey* only wanted to become the greatest man of *Rome* without a rival, and *Cæsar* disdained to receive a superior. The government of *Rome* was become totally corrupt; every place of election was stained with the blood of the voters. The wise began now to wish that things which were carried on with such horrid violence might end in nothing worse than monarchy. Some even openly declared, that the government admitted no other method of cure but regal power, and only wished that this medicine might be administered by the gentlest physician, namely, *Pompey*. *Pompey* himself aimed secretly at nothing less than the  
supreme

supreme command, which *Cato* perceiving, prevailed on the senate to chuse him sole consul, in order to prevent his aspiring at the dictatorship. They besides voted to continue him in his military command, and maintained his armies at the charge of 1000 talents from the public treasury. *Cæsar*, in this profusion of favours upon *Pompey*, demanded also the consulship for himself, and desired to be continued in his provinces: but in this he was opposed by *Marcellus* and *Lentulus*, who always regarded him with jealousy.

*Pompey* also was not idle in attempting to abridge his rival's power; he openly solicited that a successor might be declared to *Cæsar*, and sent to re-demand those two legions which he formerly had lent him. *Cæsar* readily dismissed them, having first presented each foldier with 250 drachmas. These troops upon their return, inspired *Pompey* with false notions of his rival, assuring him, that *Cæsar* was ill-seconded at home, and hated by his army abroad; and that his troops, upon their arrival in *Italy*, would at once declare against him. This at once encreased *Pompey's* security and his neglect; and fearless of danger, instead of preparing arms, he only attacked his adversary by speeches and cabals. *Cæsar*, however, slighted these feeble attempts of his enemy; it is said, that one of his soldiers, who was sent by him to *Rome*, hearing that the senate would not continue *Cæsar's* power; *But this shall*, cried he, and clapped his hand upon his sword. Seeing the

prepa-

prepara  
offered  
tions:  
their ar  
of powe  
the rew  
proposa  
*Cæsar*,  
greatest  
him, an  
ever, w  
*Pompey*  
agreed  
demand  
all were  
universa  
their co

Soon  
were br  
quit eve  
*Gaul*, an  
candida  
even *Pe*  
diers:  
but dro  
house w  
as an ex  
my; he  
5000 foo  
being sta  
under th  
were cor  
Resolvin  
mies by  
ficers, w

preparations that were made against him, he offered the senate the most equitable conditions: he proposed that both should lay down their arms, and divest themselves of every ensign of power, thus to await from the public alone, the rewards of their services. When these proposals were made by *Curio* in the name of *Cæsar*, he was applauded by some with the greatest warmth; they threw garlands upon him, and crowned him with flowers. However, when it was put to the vote, whether *Pompey* should dismiss his army, very few agreed to the proposal; but, when the same demand was put with regard to *Cæsar*, almost all were for the dismissal: however, it was universally agreed, that both should lay down their commissions.

Soon after, letters still more submissive, were brought from *Cæsar*, he proposed to quit every other claim but that of *Cisalpine Gaul*, and two legions, till he should stand candidate for his consulship. *Cicero*, and even *Pompey* agreed to let him keep 6000 soldiers: to this *Lentulus* would not hearken, but drove his agents from the senate-house with ignominy. This treatment served as an excellent pretext to inflame *Cæsar's* army; he had not with him, at that time, above 5000 foot and 300 horse, the rest of his army being stationed on the other side of the *Alps*, under the command of trusty persons, who were commissioned to bring them after him. Resolving, however, to intimidate his enemies by a bold stroke, he commanded his officers, with their swords, to go as quietly



as possible, and possess themselves of the city of *Arminium*; and this without bloodshed, if they could. Having taken this hardy resolution, he went and conversed among his guests with his usual freedom and ease; when it began to grow dark, he rose from table, and civilly desiring the company to entertain themselves for a little time during his absence, and having given his particular friends orders privately to follow him, he instantly mounted an hired carriage, and drove towards *Arminium*. When arrived at the river *Rubicon*, which parts *Italy* from its *Gaulish* dominions, he seemed in the most extreme agitation of mind; he pondered upon the greatness of the enterprize he was going to undertake; and, when just come to the side of the stream, he gazed upon it with looks of agony. At last, rousing himself with a sudden start of resolution, he resolved to debate no more, but to commit all to fortune; and crying out that the die was cast, he passed the river. Before day, *Arminium* was in his possession; the inhabitants fled from the city with the greatest precipitation, and the news no sooner reached the city of *Rome*, than it was filled with tumult and confusion. Neither authority nor eloquence were able to quiet the fears of the multitude, and a variety of contending interests encreased the commotion.

*Pompey* was still at the head of more numerous forces than those of *Cæsar*; but then he was to submit to a multiplicity of counsellors, all guided by their passions and their fears: he therefore thought it first necessary to de-

clare

clare b  
and the  
nators  
ately  
goods,  
ing inv  
had lon  
serted  
one mo

*Cæsar*  
these  
which  
thirty  
his safe  
lowed  
being t  
quered  
was he  
sured h  
an opia  
with hi  
revolte

*Cæsar*  
garrison  
he prep  
would  
*Brundis*  
the arm  
*Cæsar's*  
suing h  
and in  
all that  
city of  
pected,



clare by an edict that the city was in danger, and then left *Rome*, commanding all the senators to follow him. The consuls immediately fled; the senators carried away their goods, as if secreting them from an approaching invasion. At the same time *Labienus*, who had long been *Cæsar's* lieutenant in *Gaul*, deserted him, and went with the crowd to add one more to the train of *Pompey*.

*Cæsar*, however, no way intimidated by these combinations, laid siege to *Corfinium*, which was commanded by *Domitius* with thirty cohorts. This general despairing of his safety, upon the approach of *Cæsar*, swallowed poison; for such he imagined it; but being told of *Cæsar's* clemency to the conquered, *Domitius* repented his rashness: nor was he displeased, when his physician assured him that the draught he had taken was an opiate not a poison. *Cæsar* pardoned him with his usual generosity, though he again revolted to *Pompey*.

*Cæsar's* army being now reinforced by the garrison of the city which he had just taken, he prepared to meet *Pompey* in the field, who would not wait his approach, but fled to *Brundisium*; and having sent the consuls with the army to *Dyrachium*, he himself put to sea. *Cæsar's* want of shipping prevented his pursuing him; he therefore turned into *Italy*, and in less than sixty days became master of all that extensive country. He found the city of *Rome* much more quiet than he expected, and even proposed to the senators, who

who yet remained there, a new accommodation with *Pompey*. He next went to the treasury, in order to possess himself of the public wealth against the public. *Metellus* the tribune attempted to hinder him from this, and quoted some laws against the injustice of what he was going to perpetrate : but *Cæsar* replied, that arms and laws were repugnant ; adding, " When I have laid down my arms, I shall then be ready to listen to reason." Thus saying, he went to the doors of the treasury, and not finding the keys, he sent for smiths to force them open ; but *Metellus* still persisting in opposing his attempts, *Cæsar* raising his voice, threatened to kill him ; " and this, continued he, young man, is easier done than said."

From *Italy* he was now resolved to move the war into *Spain*, in order to prevent the supplies that *Pompey's* lieutenants in that country might otherwise afford their general. In this expedition, he encountered numberless dangers ; but those dangers were rewarded with success ; he made himself master of their camps and their forces, the officers alone escaping to *Pompey*.

*Cæsar* again returned to *Rome* with his usual expedition. Here he was chosen dictator by the senate ; and after some useful regulations in the state, in eleven days he resigned his dictatorship, having declared himself consul with *Servilius Isauricus*, and then set out to prosecute the war. His march was so rapid, that only a part of his army could keep up with

with h  
five l  
the m  
*Ionian*  
*polloni*  
*sum*, t  
the m  
my, h  
jects,  
oars t  
covere  
barked  
lay on  
As the  
violent  
art of  
but thi  
vering  
lot by  
fear n  
" *Cæ*  
ners n  
but to  
return  
their u  
over fro  
resolved  
*Pompe*  
ty of p  
desitute  
They w  
in that c  
use it as  
They w  
VOL.

with him, consisting of 600 chosen horse and five legions. With these he embarked, in the midst of winter, and having crossed the *Ionian* sea, took the cities of *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, and sent back his ships to *Brundisium*, to bring over the rest of his army. In the mean time, being unable to face the enemy, he ventured upon one of his bold projects, which was to go in a vessel with twelve oars to *Brundisium*, though the sea was then covered by the fleets of the enemy. He embarked by night in the habit of a slave, and lay on the boards like an ordinary passenger. As they were to sail down the river *Annius*, a violent storm arose, which quite overcame the art of the pilot, who gave orders to put back; but this *Cæsar* would not permit, who discovering himself, and taking the astonished pilot by the hand, bid him boldly go on, and fear nothing; “for, says he, thou carriest *Cæsar*, and *Cæsar*’s fortune.” The mariners now therefore exerted all their vigour, but to no purpose, and he was obliged to return to his army, who received him with their usual joy. His forces soon after came over from *Brundisium*, and he now therefore resolved to give *Pompey* battle.

*Pompey*’s army was furnished with plenty of provisions, while that of *Cæsar* was destitute of almost all the necessaries of life. They were obliged to dig up a root that grew in that country, and tempering it with milk, use it as a kind of bread made up into loaves. They would often throw these into the ene-

my's camp, telling them, that while the earth supplied such provisions, they would besiege *Pompey*. These threats *Pompey* took every precaution to conceal from his soldiers, being but too sensible of their fears; for they looked upon *Cæsar's* legions as partaking of more than human fierceness. Continual skirmishes passed between the two armies; in all which *Cæsar* had the better, except in one, in which *Pompey*, by a vigorous sally, filled the trenches with dead bodies, and the whole army was going to fly, when *Cæsar* vainly endeavoured to stop them; but his fortune still prevailed; for *Pompey* did not pursue his victory, which induced *Cæsar* to say among his friends, that to-day the victory had been on the enemy's side if they had a general who knew how to conquer. When he was retired to his tent, he spent the night with the most gloomy apprehensions; he now saw his affairs in an almost desperate situation; his only hope lay in removing his camp, with a view of advancing towards *Scipio*, who lay in *Macedonia*, and of drawing *Pompey* after him from his strong situation. This retreat raised ungovernable desires of fighting in the enemy's army; they looked upon *Cæsar* as one worsted, and afraid to hazard a battle; besides, his best soldiers seemed incapable from age to bear the fatigues of battle; a pestilential disease was said to ravage his army; and what was still more important, he was furnished neither with money nor provisions to maintain them. From these reasons *Pom-*

pey  
lay  
by  
fave  
whe  
flain  
face,  
proa  
and  
his  
trary  
pelle  
Ca  
time,  
march  
provin  
ed by  
sally, b  
freshm  
armies  
the pla  
seemed  
Rome t  
tors an  
upon t  
ticularl  
Cæsar's  
infantry  
45,000  
drew u  
they wo  
reinforc  
would v  
one and

they thought it would be most prudent to delay fighting; but this counsel was opposed by all but *Cato*: that patriot was willing to save the lives of his fellow-citizens; and when he saw the bodies of those that were slain on the side of *Cæsar*, he covered his face, and wept. The rest, however, reproached *Pompey* for his slowness to engage, and even imputed it to a desire of prolonging his command. At length therefore, contrary to his own sentiments, he was compelled to give *Cæsar* battle.

*Cæsar's* army had been harrassed for some time, and the countries through which they marched even refused to supply them with provisions: but these difficulties were removed by the taking of *Gomphi*, a town of *Thes-saly*, by assault; in which he found every refreshment both for relief and cure. The two armies at length approached each other on the plains of *Pharsalia*: those on *Pompey's* side seemed confident of victory, and even sent to *Rome* to take houses fit to accommodate prætors and lictors, which offices they expected upon the acquisition of the victory; but particularly the cavalry, who were 7000 against *Cæsar's* 1000, were eager to engage. Their infantry also was equally superior, being 45,000 against 22,000 of the enemy. *Cæsar* drew up his army, and demanded whether they would wait till he was joined by some reinforcements he expected from *Athens*, or would venture to engage by themselves; they one and all cried out for immediately engage-

ing. In the morning of the next day, *Cæsar*, who had supposed the enemy would not venture to give him battle, was agreeably relieved by understanding that the enemy were pouring down: he now therefore advanced to meet them; and seeing *Caius Crassus*, an experienced soldier, encouraging the men, *Cæsar* called out to him by name, crying, "What hopes, *Caius Crassus*, how "stands our courage?" To this the other replied with a loud voice, "We "shall conquer, *Cæsar*, and this day I will "deserve your praises alive or dead:" thus saying, he immediately ran upon the enemy, and after having performed prodigies of valour, received a mortal blow. Whilst the foot were thus engaging, *Pompey's* horse advanced with great confidence of success; but *Cæsar's* foot darting their javelins at a distance, they could not stand the assault, and having broken their ranks, fled away in great confusion. This occasioned the ruin of the whole army, who were cut to pieces.

*Pompey* quite forgot his usual fortitude upon this occasion; he viewed his army defeated without attempting to stop the overthrow; he retired to his tent in silence, and there sat expecting the event. When told that the enemy were in possession of the ramparts, and were breaking into the tents, he then seemed to recover; and crying out, "What, in my camp too!" he instantly disguised himself, and privately made his escape.

*Cæsar*

*Cæsar*  
a riv  
dead  
around  
" com  
" ish  
" oth  
this o  
ed sev  
others  
life.  
till he  
he nov  
Comin  
account  
dotus br  
from it  
remains  
wrote t  
that he  
who ha  
The i  
vernor,  
*far*, unv  
place Ch  
being se  
one serva  
dusk of  
Finding  
out a disc  
pet, and  
of ordina  
Her wit  
charm his



*Cæsar* was now master of the field without a rival; he walked through heaps of bodies dead and dying, and perceiving the carnage around him, cried with a sigh, "This they compelled me to, and to avoid being punished as a criminal, I was obliged to make others so." *Cæsar's* clemency was upon this occasion equal to his courage; he pardoned several persons of distinction, and among others *Brutus*, who afterwards took away his life. But never judging the victory secure, till he no longer had an enemy to conquer, he now hastened on in pursuit of *Pompey*. Coming to *Alexandria*, he there received the account that *Pompey* was murdered, and *Theodotus* bringing him his head, he turned away from it with horror. He treated the wretched remains of *Pompey's* party with kindness, and wrote to *Rome*, that his greatest pleasure was, that he every day saved the lives of *Romans* who had attempted to take his.

The insolence of *Photinus*, the king's governor, now produced a war in *Egypt*. *Cæsar*, unwilling to bear it, was resolved to place *Cleopatra* on the throne. That princess being sent for by him, accompanied only by one servant, got into a small boat, and in the dusk of the evening landed near the palace. Finding it however impossible to enter without a discovery, she rolled herself up in a carpet, and her attendant carried it in as a piece of ordinary furniture to *Cæsar's* apartment. Her wit and her beauty equally conspired to charm him; he therefore reconciled her to

her brother, with whom she had been at variance, and made her a partner in the government. *Achillas* and *Photinus*, however, were no way satisfied with this distribution; they raised a dangerous war, from which *Cæsar* escaped not without a variety of dangers. They straiten'd him for want of water, by turning the aqueducts; they obliged him to burn his fleet: he escaped another time narrowly by leaping into the sea, and, with much difficulty, carried his Commentaries in one hand, while he swam with the other. At last, however, he became victorious, and *Cleopatra* was crowned queen of *Egypt*, and by her he soon after had a son.

From *Egypt* he flew to suppress a revolt, headed by *Pharnaces*, the son of *Mithridates*, whom he overthrew with three legions, and totally destroyed his army. The news of this victory he sent to *Rome* in these words, "I came, I saw, I conquered." From hence he went to *Rome*, and was elected consul: here he seemed sonder of his army than of the people; he even winked at the misconduct of his generals, for political views prevailed over those of equity.

*Cato* and *Scipio* were still in *Africa* at the head of a considerable force: these *Cæsar* resolved to disperse, and passed into *Sicily* in the very midst of winter. The enemy seemed much to rely on an ancient prophecy, that the *Scipios* should be always victorious in *Africa*. There was in his army, a man whose only merit was that of being called by that name,

nar  
fan  
of l  
onc  
the  
his  
can  
tota  
time  
with  
and  
" th  
enen  
cess,  
army  
to b  
unex  
sigh  
enem  
Ca  
defen  
slaug  
haste  
inform  
out,  
" the  
" the  
was a  
one f  
distrib  
the p  
cessio  
of ci  
350,0  
of ci

name, as being descended from that ancient family: him therefore *Cæsar* put at the head of his army with the title of general; thus at once to ridicule the enemy, and to disappoint the prophecy. Upon a certain occasion, while his army were employed in gazing at an *African* dancer, they had like to be surprized, and totally defeated by the enemy. At another time, as one of his ensigns was running away with a standard, *Cæsar* took him by the neck, and forcing him about, cried, "Look there, there is the enemy." But, though the enemy attempted to surprize him without success, he was more fortunate; he ordered his army to march through a country supposed to be impassable, and attacking their camp unexpectedly in front and rear, he put them to flight, and killed in one day 50,000 of the enemy, with only the loss of fifty men.

*Cato* in the mean time had undertaken to defend *Utica*, and consequently escaped the slaughter. *Cæsar's* desire to take him alive, hastened his march to that city; but being informed that he had killed himself, he cried out, "*Cato*, I envy thee thy death, because thou hast envied me the honour of giving thee life." Upon his return to *Rome*, he was allowed three triumphs; one for *Egypt*, one for *Pontus*, and a third for *Africa*. He distributed rewards to his soldiers, and treated the people with magnificent shews and processions. But upon calculating the number of citizens, they were found reduced from 350,000, to 150,000. Such are the ravages of civil war!

The

The sons of *Pompey* were still unconquered : they were but young, yet commanded a large army, and shewed great courage and conduct in the command. A decisive battle was fought near the city of *Munda* ; in which *Cæsar*, seeing his men making but a feeble resistance, ran in the midst, crying out, “ O shame, to “ deliver your general into the hands of “ boys.” They therefore exerted more than common valour, and killed 30,000 of the enemy ; upon which *Cæsar* told his friends, that he had often fought for victory ; but this was the first time he had ever fought for his life. This was *Cæsar*’s last battle ; the triumph for this victory, instead of pleasing the people, excited their sorrow, particularly when they found that the sons of *Pompey* were no more. However, his power was now too great to be opposed, and after having waded through seas of blood, he was made dictator for life. His clemency was so great, on his being invested with absolute power, that the *Romans* erected a temple to it, he not only pardoned several of those who drew the sword against him, but conferred rewards and honours on some of them, particularly on *Brutus* and *Cassius*, whom he made prætors. He again set up the statues of *Pompey*, upon which *Cicero* finely said, that thus he fixed his own. When his friends advised him to keep a guard, he refused, saying, that it was better to die once, than to live continually in fear of dying.

His

His  
way f  
having  
carry  
himse  
the P  
alone  
design  
build  
countr  
were p  
lendar  
called  
matici  
reduce  
motion  
had be  
But  
to lesse  
called  
pretenc  
and wh  
by tha  
was Ca  
senate,  
dinary  
Forum  
his hon  
increas  
gusted  
ing his  
opening  
to prese

His former exploits seemed, however, no way sufficient to fill up *Cæsar's* ambition, having none to emulate, he now began to carry on a sort of emulation of himself against himself, and was preparing to make war on the *Parthians*, intending to make the ocean alone the bounds of the *Roman* empire. He designed to cut away through isthmuses; to build mounds to oppose the sea; to drain countries subject to inundation. These things were planned: but his reformation of the kalendar was actually put into execution, he called in the best philosophers and mathematicians to assist in this undertaking, and thus reduced the inequality of the lunar and solar motions to a greater exactness than any other had before done.

But these benefits were not an equivalent to lessen the hatred, which his desire to be called king gave the people. It is true, he pretended himself to refuse the appellation, and when some were so bold as to salute him by that title, he forbade them, saying, his title was *Cæsar*, and not king. Another time, the senate, willing to confer on him some extraordinary honours, came to salute him in the Forum; but he would not rise, saying, that his honours rather wanted to be retracted than increased. But his behaviour universally disgusted all ranks, and *Cæsar* himself perceiving his error, went home to his friends, and opening his breast, told them, he was ready to present it to any that would kill him.

*Antony,*

*Antony* upon another occasion, offered him in the Forum a crown of laurel; few of the people applauded him, while he made the offer, but *Cæsar's* refusal was celebrated with universal acclamations. He again repeated the offer, the people again were silent; but *Cæsar's* second refusal was still more loudly applauded. This was done in order to try the disposition of the people; but finding them averse to kingly honours, he rose up, and ordered the crown to be carried to the capitol. *Cæsar's* statues were found at the same time crowned with diadems. *Flavius* and *Marullus*, two tribunes of the people, pulled them off, and committed those to prison who first saluted *Cæsar* with the name of king. This highly pleased the people, who called them the true descendants of *Brutus*; but *Cæsar* was so much displeased, that he displaced the two tribunes.

These were the first motives that induced the people to turn their eyes upon *Marcus Brutus*, who was thought to be descended from that *Brutus*, who banished the tyrant *Tarquin* from *Rome*. Besides this, he was nephew and son-in-law of *Cato*, his only obstacle was, his friendship to *Cæsar*, and the favours he had received from him. The people, however, undertook to rouse him by papers, which they over-night would lay in the tribunal, where he usually sate, with such expostulations as these, *Brutus, thou sleepest, thou art not Brutus. Cassius* still farther strove to excite him,

him,  
sar.  
of C  
him,  
told  
again  
fat a  
mean  
No  
the f  
him  
day,  
fayer  
ides o  
past,  
he ha  
what  
prese  
ing i  
entre  
drear  
prie  
were  
perfu  
nate;  
This  
migh  
argun  
nate i  
at len  
He w  
attem  
posib

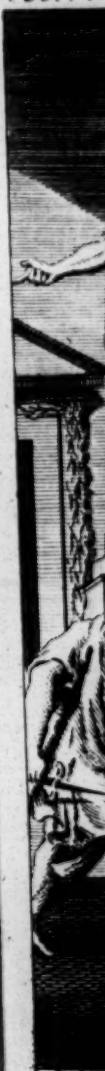


him, he having a private grudge against *Cæsar*. Nor was *Cæsar* without his suspicions of *Cassius*, who always said he did not like him, because he looked so pale; and when told that *Antony* and *Dolabella* were in a plot against him, he replied, he did not fear the fat and the sleek, but the pale and the lean, meaning *Cassius* and *Brutus*.

Numberless prodigies were said to precede the fall of *Cæsar*. It is said, a southsayer bade him beware of the ides of *March*, which day, when come, *Cæsar* meeting the southsayer, said to him by way of raillery, *The ides of March are come. Ay, but they are not past*, cried the other. The day before his fall, he happened to enter into a conversation of what kind of death was best, and gave the preference to a sudden one. On the morning intended for his fall, his wife *Calpurnia*, entreated him not to stir out that day, as her dreams presaged some fatal calamity; the priests also reported, that all the sacrifices were inauspicious; he was therefore at length persuaded, to send *Antony* to dismiss the senate; at the same time *Decius Brutus* came in. This *Brutus* fearing, lest the delay of a day might discover or defeat the plot, used every argument to prevail on *Cæsar* to go to the senate in person. After some hesitation, *Cæsar* at length complied, and gave *Brutus* his hand. He was gone but a little way, when a slave attempted to speak to him, but finding it impossible, by reason of the press, he went  
to

to *Calpurnia*, and declared, that he had matters of the utmost importance to disclose. *Artemidorus*, a rhetorician, also brought him a paper, containing the names of the conspirators, and the heads of the conspiracy. But observing *Cæsar* deliver those papers to some officers who stood next him, he cried out, "Read them yourself, and quickly *Cæsar*"; this, however, he was unable to do from the crowd that was gathered round him. He carried it open in his hand, till he came to the senate, the place where it was appointed to assemble, being where *Pompey's* statue stood, and had been built by *Pompey*, and dedicated for public use. When *Cæsar* entered, the senate stood up to shew their respect to him; the conspirators crowded round the chair, and *Metellus Cimber*, pretended to come as a suppliant in behalf of his brother, who was in exile. *Cæsar* rejected their petitions, and upon their pressing their suit, he reprimanded them severely. Upon this, *Metellus* laying hold of his robe with both hands, drew it over his neck. This was the signal agreed on. *Casca* gave him the first stroke, which was far from being mortal. *Cæsar*, immediately turned round, and laid his hand on his dagger, both crying out, *Cæsar*, in Latin, *Thou villain*. *Casca*, what dost thou mean? And *Casca*, in Greek, addressing himself to his brother, *Brother help*. But *Cæsar* soon found himself surrounded on every side, and received the dagger of an enemy in whatsoever part he turned. They had all agreed to give him a blow, so as to be accomplices in his death.

Marcus



The



*The Death of JULIUS CÆSAR.*

had  
lose.  
him  
aspi-  
But  
some  
out,  
ar'' ;  
n the  
arri-  
e fe-  
to af-  
ood,  
cated  
ne fe-  
him ;  
and  
sup-  
as in  
and  
hand-  
s lay-  
drew  
greed  
h was  
iately  
gger,  
u vil-  
d Caf-  
bro-  
him-  
ceived  
part  
e him  
death.  
Marcus



*Marcu*  
the gr  
him, h  
self wi  
*Pempey*  
his blo

Wh  
to add  
had do  
and e  
his a  
strict  
selves,  
spirato  
a body  
throug  
to refu

The  
people  
sure n  
pity C  
nate u  
creed  
god,  
his aff  
All th  
establ  
*Cæsar*  
that h  
of the  
was c  
woun  
tain t  
Vo

*Marcus Brutus* therefore gave him a stab in the groin. When he saw *Brutus* was against him, he no longer resisted, but covering himself with his robe, he expired at the foot of *Pompey's* statue, which was all covered with his blood.

When he was thus slain, *Brutus* undertook to address the senate, and vindicate what they had done; but the consternation was too great, and each fled different ways, as his fears or his anger directed. *Antony* and *Lepidus*, strict adherents to *Cæsar*, concealed themselves, while *Brutus* and the rest of the conspirators marched with their swords drawn in a body to the capitol, and as they proceeded through the streets, called out to the people to resume their liberty.

The next day, *Brutus* again harangued the people who stood by, expressing neither pleasure nor resentment, but seemed at once to pity *Cæsar*, and reverence *Brutus*. The senate undertook to satisfy both sides, they decreed that *Cæsar* should be worshipped as a god, and at the same time, gave *Brutus* and his associates the command of the provinces. All things now seemed again to promise a re-establishment of *Roman* freedom; but when *Cæsar's* will was opened, and it was found that he had left a considerable legacy to each of the *Roman* citizens, and when his body was carried through the city all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer contain their resentment. They took firebrands,

and ran to burn the houses of the conspirators, others ran in search of the men, but they had all previously made their escape. In this tumult, one *Cinna*, a friend of *Cæsar*'s, was torn in pieces, merely by the rabble mistaking him for another of that name, who was one of the conspirators.

Thus died *Cæsar* in the fifty-sixth year of his age, having survived *Pompey* but four years ; having reaped little other fruits from the empire he had acquired with so much hazard, but a premature death, and an empty name. It is remarkable, that *Cassius* killed himself with the same dagger with which he had stabbed *Cæsar*. And it is pretended the sun for that year seemed to shine with a more feeble lustre than usual.

*The END of the FIFTH VOLUME.*



THE



l  
-  
s  
-  
s

of  
ur  
m  
a-  
ty  
ed  
he  
he  
ore

H E